

A
POPULAR LIFE
OF
GEORGE FOX,
THE
FIRST OF THE QUAKERS.



COMPILED FROM
HIS JOURNAL AND OTHER AUTHENTIC SOURCES;
AND INTERSPERSED WITH
REMARKS UPON THE IMPERFECT REFORMATION OF THE
ANGLICAN CHURCH, AND THE CONSEQUENT
SPREAD OF DISSENT.

By JOSIAH MARSH.

"God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty."—1 Cor. i. 27.

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P R E F A C E .

Sir James Mackintosh, speaking of "George Fox's Journal," says, "it is one of the most extraordinary and instructive narratives in the world,—which no reader of competent judgment can peruse without revering the virtue of the writer." The compiler's object in the present Memoir, has been to condense the most important features and incidents of the life of so eminently pious a character as George Fox, in order to produce a small volume sufficiently interesting for the general reader, and more especially for those unacquainted with the principles and history of the Quakers.

Christianity must possess some universally fundamental principle, some common ground upon which all communities of Christians meet, however the practices of their separate churches may differ; and as the investigation of this principle forms the most important subject of their research, all are bound, in prosecuting this inquiry, to divest themselves of prejudice, so far, as to pursue it for the sake of *Truth* itself. Professor Playfair says, "It is too much forgotten by physiologists, that their duty is really not to refute the experiments of others, nor to show that they are erroneous, but to discover truth, and that alone. It is startling," he continues, "when we reflect that all the time and energy of a multitude

of persons of genius, talent, and knowledge, are expended in endeavours to demonstrate each others' errors." * A remark that applies with equal force to the pursuit of every kind of knowledge, and more particularly where it relates to religious opinions.

The great object of the Reformation was to draw people from the authority of the church, so called, to the authority of scripture: from obscure traditions, from the opinions of the fathers, and from the decrees of councils, composed of fallible men like ourselves, to the light of the gospel, the inspired fountain from which their opinions are all professed to be drawn. The gospel, therefore, is the ostensible rule of all the reformed churches—a rule which, as it is directly opposed to the pretensions of popery, places them all upon an equal footing, and better would it have been had they strictly confined themselves to it; for, "there is 'always' a propensity among 'all men,' 'every where,' to fall into a similar kind of external worship of forms and dogmas—of observances apart from morals, and creeds apart from conviction—to substitute the offices of a priesthood for individual holiness—the consecration of times and places, of temples and days, for the sanctification of the heart and life. Into such forms human nature is ever prone to corrupt spiritual service; and quod semper, ubique, et ab omnibus, is the very formula of the corrupt religion of human nature." †

The question now agitating the religious world, is, whether this fundamental principle is to be carried out, or whether

* "Chemistry of Agriculture and Physiology," p. 20.

† Edinburgh Review, clxix. p. 215.

we are once more to relapse into the superstitions of popery, by admitting vain traditions and the opinions of men, to be of equal authority with the "voice of revelation." It is impossible to stand still in these inquiring times, and the Reformation, so far as it has been happily begun, must either be carried forward, in the great power of God, towards perfection, or, if left to the guidance of human wisdom, must again recede into the thick darkness, from which it has been in part rescued. Should, therefore, this little work contribute, in the slightest degree, to the advancement of religious knowledge, the author's object will be accomplished. He makes little pretension to originality; for, whenever he could express his own sentiments by introducing the words of other writers, he has preferred to do so; and by comparing some of the more striking Quaker opinions, with the great principle of the Reformation avowed by other churches, he has endeavoured to show how closely *religious liberty* is connected with our *civil rights*. Had Great Britain remained up to this hour Roman Catholic—a fief of the see of Rome—what would have been her rank among the nations of Europe? Would her moral and intellectual influence ever have exalted her to the powerful station she now fills—at once the envy and glory of the civilized world?

The facts of the narrative stand upon their own indisputable authenticity. The compiler's remarks are mostly put interrogatively, thus inviting the reader to think and judge for himself, holding up to him the gospel, as the Christian standard for faith and doctrine, which, being the written word of God, offers an authority immeasurably surpassing all traditions and human opinions. In so doing, he most ex-

pressly states that it has been far from his intention to wound the feelings of any one who may differ from him in sentiments; for, aware in his own case, how strong are the influences of early prejudices, he yields the same allowance to others that he claims for himself; asking only a candid investigation of how far such prejudices are, or are not, in accordance with the gospel.

Woodside, near Epping.

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A POPULAR

LIFE OF GEORGE FOX.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

THE imperfect reformation from popery, so happily begun by Edward VI., and which may date its firm establishment in this kingdom from the accession of Queen Elizabeth to the throne; together with all the train of remarkable and important events which ensued upon this great change, up to the period when the sceptre was placed in the hands of William III., are so intimately connected with the rise and progress of dissent from the national church, that it will not be irrelative to our subject, to take a cursory glance at them, prior to entering upon the life of George Fox.

By the vigour and policy of Queen Elizabeth's measures, the great cause of the Reformation was not only established in England, but also much promoted throughout Europe; although, unfortunately for this country, its progress at home was, at the same time, checked by her arbitrary interference in the settlement of the church; for, influenced in part by her affectionate regard to the memory of her deceased brother, and partly by her own inclinations, she determined that it should vary, in no material point, from those innovations introduced during his short minority; although the opinions and views of the reformers, respecting the gross errors of papacy, had made rapid progress since his death. The few changes introduced by her command into the Book of Common Prayer, were in fact all in favour of Romish

practices. She revised the forty-two articles of Edward VI., and after bringing them as near to popery as possible, reduced them to thirty-nine, as they now stand; and numbers of the clergy were expelled by her, for refusing to conform to her canons.

The Queen, inheriting a great share of her father's imperious temper, and ill brooking any control of her royal will, regulated all ecclesiastical matters by her assumed infallibility, particularly in the latter part of her reign.* Being herself inclined to the pomp and magnificence of the Romish ritual, and, at the same time, too regardless of the religious sentiments, both of a large portion of her lay subjects, and of many of her most eminent divines; she retained some of the superstitious ceremonies and habiliments of that church, which the latter would gladly have purged out of the reformed establishment; had the Queen's mind been sufficiently enlightened to have permitted so desirable a change; and who succeeded only by the most firm remonstrances, in obtaining her consent to abolish the use of images and crucifixes in the service of the church; in favour of which practices she was herself strongly prepossessed.

Most of the early reformers were men of unaffected piety and exemplary lives, and were sincere and zealous advocates for a more complete return to the primitive usages of the gospel times. Upon their recall from exile they entertained many scruples against the ecclesiastical canons then established by the Queen, and yielded at length a reluctant compliance to them, more for the sake of peace, than from any conviction of their correctness or utility. They were influenced also by a dread, that, if they refused to undertake the responsible duties of the pastoral office upon the prescribed forms, these important situations might fall into the hands of men of a different cast, who, being secretly inimical to the glorious cause, might not only retard its progress still farther, but also ultimately pave the way for the re-establishment of papacy, should a favourable opportunity ever occur.

* See her speech at the close of parliament, 1584.—Hume, chap. xli.

In support of this opinion, we shall produce a few extracts from the correspondence of some of these early champions of the Reformation, recorded in Burnet's History of the Reformation. In the year 1559, Gaultier, a Swiss reformer, in writing to Dr. Masters, the Queen's physician, said, "He congratulates with him on the change; he wishes they would not hearken to those who, seeing that popery could not be honestly defended or entirely retained, would use all artifices to keep as much as they could of the outward face of it, that the return to it may be more easy. They had had experience enough in Germany of the seeming modesty of those counsels, which pretended to maintain an universal agreement."

Bishop Jewel wrote to Peter Martyr, "that he found debates raised concerning the vestments, which he calls the habits of the stage, and wishes to be freed from them. He says, they were not wanting to so good a cause; but others seemed to love those things, hoping to strike the eyes of the people with those ridiculous trifles. He calls them the relics of the Amorites. He complains of a feebleness in their councils. Some, he says, were so set upon the habits, as if the Christian religion consisted in garments. He says, they (the reformers) were not called to the consultations about the scenical apparel. He could set no value upon these fopperies." Upon another occasion, he wrote to the same person, "that the doctrine was purely preached, but too much folly concerning ceremonies and masks remained. The crucifix was still in the Queen's chapel. He disliked the worldly policy that appeared in this."

Again, in the following year, 1560, he informed his correspondent, "that he heard they resolved to set up crucifixes again in the churches where they had been pulled down: if they did, he would no longer be a bishop."

In the same year, Sandys, Bishop of Worcester, complained in a letter, that "he found his bishopric more of a burden than of an honour. The doctrine of the sacrament was pure; but there was a question about images. The Queen thought it not contrary to the word of God, and it

seemed convenient to keep the crucifix in her chapel. They saw that superstitious people worshipped this idol. He had spoken freely to the Queen about it, and she had threatened to deprive him. But since then she was more softened, and the images were removed. The popish vestments were yet used, but he hoped that would not be so, much longer; and he adds, that it was the *pretence of unity and conformity* that gave occasion to the greatest divisions.

Thus it was owing to the positive refusal of these men to comply with the Queen's desire, that the church was rescued from the pollutions and superstitions of crucifixes and images.

By the same historian, we are again informed that Sampson, Dean of Christ Church, and Humphreys, Professor of Divinity at Magdalen College, strongly opposed the Queen's orders respecting the vestments of the clergy, and several other points, which they considered to savour too much of popery. These men "desired a free synod to settle the matter, where things should not be carried according to the minds of one or two persons; for they who condemned the popish pride, could not support a like tyranny in a free church."

Also, that Bullinger and Gaulter, eminent reformers of Zurich, wrote to the Earl of Bedford, informing him, "that when they first heard of the contention about vestments, they freely gave their opinions that the clergy ought not to desert their stations for things of so little importance, and leave them to be filled perhaps by wolves and deceivers. But they heard now, that not only the vestments are complained of, but many other things that plainly savour of popery." Such as, the use of figured music and organs, the forms of sponsors, and the use of the cross in baptism, kneeling at sacrament, baptizing of infants, bowing at the name of Jesus, &c. &c. It was a sensible grief to them, to see the Church of England, scarcely got out of the hands of their bloody enemies, now like to be pulled down by their own intestine broils. So, having a confidence in his affection to the gospel, they pray him to intercede with the Queen, and the nobility in the parliament, that was soon to meet, for their brethren

who were suffering, and who deserved great regard for the sincere zeal they had shown for religion, since the only thing that they were solicitous about was, that religion should be purged from the dregs of popery. They beg him to employ his interest, that the Reformation so happily begun, to the admiration of the world, may not be defiled with any of the remnants of popery; but that he should press the Queen and nobility to go on and complete what they had so gloriously begun."

In 1654 was passed the "Act of Conformity," which has been well styled the bane of Christianity, and which was a great cause of producing all the succeeding religious troubles; and upon which Burnet observes, "that this matter being settled, there followed a great diversity of practice: many conforming themselves to the law in all points, while others refused to wear the surplice, or square caps and hoods. This made two parties in the church. Many forsook their churches on both sides: some because those habits were used, and some because they were not used. The Queen wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury, (Parker,) reflecting, not without some acrimony, on these diversities, as if they were the effect of remissness in him, or the other bishops; requiring him, with the other bishops, commissioned by her for causes ecclesiastical, to reform and repress all such diversities, both in clergy and people."

It is intended to show from these extracts, that the early fathers of the Reformation cherished an idea of a church approaching much nearer the primitive times of the first century, than it was convenient to the policy of Elizabeth to admit;—and that although the Reformation was ostensibly established by her authority, it was to a certain extent nipped, as it were, in the bud, by the almost papal power with which she exercised her prerogative of supremacy in church affairs, and that owing to her interference the church was left encumbered with superstitious and ceremonial observances, at variance with its own professions, with the feelings of many religious people, and with the sentiments of her own leading reformed clergy, whose views of the Reformation were be-

yond the scope of those of a great bulk of the people, still retaining many prejudices in favour of their old popish practices. Had these offending matters been left to the settlement of a free synod of such divines, the offices of the church would, in all probability, have come down to us divested of many of the popish superstitions, to which a party of the modern prelacy cling with so much zeal: and it is a subject of regret, that such a course was not adopted by the Queen; for had the pure sentiments of these men been carried out by an equally pure practice in the church service, those violent religious dissensions might never have been called into existence, which ended at last in embroiling the whole nation in the political and polemical controversies, that, for a time, subverted the constitution itself. And, farther, we see, that the reluctant compliance of these divines with the prescribed rules and orders of the Queen was yielded for the sake of present peace, based upon the hope, that a more perfect reformation would ensue; and also upon a fear, lest the great and good cause should suffer through an obstinate refusal, on their part, to conform to these seemingly indifferent matters. Let us then hope, that the present religious movement may, in the end, advance that more perfect reformation which our early reformers so ardently desired; and that the only means employed to effect this great object, may be a sincere desire on the part of all denominations of Christians, to establish truth itself, rather than their own prejudiced views of it.

It is but justice to state, that the Queen's power was also equally employed to check all popish encroachments, on their first appearance. And if the Catholics escaped persecution, (a fact highly creditable to the reformed divines, and one of the strongest proofs of the sincerity of their Christian principles,) they were at any rate forbidden, under penalties, to propagate their doctrines, and were obliged to conform in public to the established ritual, in common with all other subjects.

It is also clearly evident that, upon her accession, the bias of the great bulk of the nation was in favour of the change; for the eyes of all men had been effectually opened to the iniquity of the intolerant Catholic church, by the cruel per-

secutions of the preceding reign. Out of nine thousand four hundred beneficed clergy, only one hundred and seventy-two retained their allegiance to the Papal chair, and refused to conform to the new doctrines, preferring the resignation of their benefices to the renunciation of the Pope's supremacy. Of these, fourteen were bishops, twelve arch-deacons, fifteen heads of colleges, and the rest, canons and parochial clergy;* and it is remarkable, that the most unbending among them, were those men who had apostatized from the cause of the Reformation in the former reign of Mary.

It is by no means impossible that, in so sudden a change, many of the conforming priests were actuated in some measure by interested motives, and were secretly attached to the old church; yet their general acquiescence in the popular feeling, proves that its influence was far too predominating to have been prudently withstood.

As before stated, the Queen's extreme jealousy to maintain her absolute authority, over all ecclesiastical matters, laid the foundation of those disturbances, that broke out and unsettled the kingdom in the reign of Charles I.

The historical facts of this period, prove how ineffectual all state interferences are in restraining the free operations of mind, which can never be made to submit to religious forms, ceremonies, or creeds, at variance with its convictions, however strongly they may be enforced by law; more especially in a religion, the essence and spirit of which, is a worship of the heart in spirit and in truth; because the salvation it holds out cannot be purchased by the observance of any outward ceremony, but only through the merits of our Saviour, by yielding a faithful obedience, inwardly, to the divine law of the gospel, the light of Christ in the heart. For this is a divine and invincible principle which goes on expanding its blessings, and will go on, requiring no aid or protection from state authority and earthly governments.

In 1593, the Commons, at the Queen's instigation, passed a law against recusants, by which it was enacted, that penal-

* Burnet's Reformation.

ties, increasing from imprisonment up to capital punishment should be enforced against all parties, puritans as well as papists, above the age of sixteen years, who should refuse to conform to the established usages of the church.

Henry Barrow and John Greenwood, two zealous Brownists, but devout and sincere men, were among those who suffered the extreme penalty of the law under this persecuting act, and chose to forfeit their lives, rather than deny what they held to be the truth. It appears, however, that the Queen had some misgivings of conscience concerning their untimely doom, and inquiring, some time afterwards, of Dr. Reynolds, what his opinion was of those men, he endeavoured to divert the subject, saying, "That it would not avail any thing to show his judgment concerning them, seeing they were put to death." But Elizabeth pressing him further, he admitted, "that he was persuaded if they had lived, they would have been two as worthy instruments for the church of God, as had been raised up in that age." At which account the Queen sighed, but made no reply. The Earl of Cumberland also, who was present at their execution, had informed her, "that they made a godly end, and had prayed for her Majesty and the state."*

The puritanical sentiments were at this time so generally diffused, notwithstanding all the measures taken to suppress them, that a book containing articles of dissent from the established canons, had been secretly subscribed by more than five hundred clergymen,† a proof that the opinions of this party, which formed the basis of all the future dissents from the national church, existed to a great extent among both laity and clergy. These sentiments spread rapidly in the succeeding reigns, till in the time of Charles I., the greater part of the kingdom became so tinctured with them, as to give rise to many different sects of dissenters, all of whom united in denying the divine right of bishops. At first, the Puritans struggled with the bishops only for the purpose

* Sewell's History of Friends, vol. i. p. 9.

† Hume's History of England, (note R. to Chap. xli.)

of religious liberty, but as soon as they assumed the form of a separate church as Presbyterians, they contended for ecclesiastical power. At the same time, the Republicans and Independents strove for political liberty; and all the three parties concurred to overthrow the absolute power of the church and crown, and to obtain their common end—liberty—an object no sooner gained by them, than it was perverted into a tyranny more insupportable than that which it had replaced, since it was the tyranny of a religious party spirit.*

The early Christian church appears, from historical record, to have retained its apostolic and simple purity during the period of the first three centuries; but in the fourth century schisms made their appearance, and it began to degenerate. After its adoption by Constantine the Great as the state religion of the empire, its accession to power and riches was so rapid, that it soon became an object of worldly interest; which every succeeding reign tended to increase, by loading it with temporalities, dignities, and ecclesiastical power; till in the plenitude of Papal dominion, its apostacy assumed that heterogeneous commixture, in which the pure precepts of the gospel were obscured in Jewish rites and Pagan superstitions.

Thus, we are forcibly reminded of the polytheism and household divinities of the Pagan world, by the numerous shrines of the different virgins and saints, called into being during the dark ages that succeeded the overthrow of the empire, and which a designing and crafty priesthood fostered by every artifice it could invent to bewilder the human mind, and restrain it under a slavish subjection to their own wills. Again, in the gloomy churches and theatrical effect of their blazing altars, we recall the mysterious cells of the heathen temples.

In the altar, the daily mass, the incense, and the rites of the priests, we find something approaching to the priesthood and daily sacrifice under the Levitical Law: and in the baptism of infants, (a popish invention) a substitute for circum-

* See "History of Civilization," by M. Guizot, Lecture xiii.

cision. And thus the pure precepts of the gospel and the simple practices of the early church were corrupted by imitations of Jewish rites, and obscured by heathen superstitions.

From the slavish influence of this dark system of priestcraft, and of these "cunningly devised fables," the glorious light of the Reformation, rescued a great portion of the human race; yet did not so entirely dispel those mists, in which the superstitions and errors of popery had long enveloped the understandings of men, but that there still remained a great darkness upon spiritual matters. But as the holy writings became better known, (being now accessible to all by their translation into the vulgar tongue,) so also, all men became more or less inquisitive upon these most important subjects, and began to feel dissatisfied with their former system of worship; anxious for the confirmation of their future hopes, now made clearer to their understandings by a more intimate acquaintance with the Scriptures, which exposed the gross delusions, and unmasked the hypocritical practices of their old teachers.

Such, moreover, was the power of long-continued habit trained to place important considerations upon external forms and ceremonies, that no one reformer, prior to George Fox, had altogether rejected ceremonies in the performance of public worship, or the observance of any religious rite upon admittance into a community of membership. But he, regarding worship alone in the light of a spiritual act, between the heart of man and his Maker, instituted a worship of silent waiting, and more particularly called upon his followers to rely upon that measure of divine light or grace, which it has pleased God to place in the hearts of all men for their edification, guidance, and right understanding of his revealed law, provided they are willing to submit to its silent teachings. He considered that it is only by the free operation of this divine principle, that the heart becomes sanctified, and that, by it alone, men can become spiritually baptized into the church of Christ, or can become spiritual partakers of the body and blood of our Saviour. Which inward and

spiritual participation, is the only true essential of those ceremonies, as practised by most of the Christian churches. Neither had any one, before this, called the attention of mankind so particularly to the marked distinction between the old law of Moses and the new law of the Gospel, pointing out, that the former with its ceremonies and ordinances, was expressly given to the Jews and to them only: and as St. Paul says, is to be looked upon by us as a schoolmaster, to prepare us for the better and more spiritual dispensation which ended the old law,* and in whose glad tidings the whole Gentile world are made participators, as well as the Jews. Nor had any one before endeavoured to establish a system of public worship of a nature so entirely spiritual, allowing of no prescribed act, either of prayer or exhortation. His object was to lead people back to the primitive simplicity and purity of the gospel precepts, to which the superstitious ceremonies of the Romish church were so glaringly opposed; to call them off from all dependence upon outward ceremonies, to that inward and spiritual religion by which alone they can know Christ to be their God, and their Saviour; and to convince them, that the mere knowledge and belief of what Christ had done and suffered for them, when personally upon earth, was not of itself sufficient to obtain this, without a further knowledge, through the Holy Spirit, of his righteous government in their hearts.

A modern American historian says, "The rise of the people called Quakers, is one of the most remarkable events in the history of man. It marks the moment when intellectual freedom was claimed unconditionally by the people as an inalienable birthright."† "It was the consequence of the moral warfare against corruption; the aspiration of the human mind, after a perfect emancipation from the long reign of bigotry and superstition.‡ Thus did the mind of George Fox arrive at the conclusion, that Truth is to be sought by

* Galatians, iii. 24, 25.

† Bancroft's "History of the United States," vol. ii. p. 337.

‡ Ibid. vol. i. p. 451

listening to the voice of God in the soul.* This principle contained a moral revolution. It established absolute freedom of mind, treading idolatry under foot, and entered the strongest protest against the forms of a hierarchy. It was the principle for which Socrates died, and Plato suffered; and now that Fox went forth to proclaim it among the people, he was every where resisted with vehemence; and priests and professors, magistrates and people, 'swelled against him like the raging waves of the sea.'"+

These new doctrines being incomprehensible to the bulk of the people and to many of their spiritual pastors, who at this time were still in a state of great mental darkness, was one reason of the ill-will and malevolence with which they were received by those who hated any doctrine, however true, that interfered with their own selfish views.

The same author again says, "George Fox proclaimed an insurrection against every form of authority over conscience; he resisted every attempt at the slavish subjection of the understanding."‡ "But he circumscribed this freedom by obedience to Truth. To the Quakers Christianity is freedom."§

After the restoration of Charles II., so general was the flood of riotous dissipation spread over the land, that Bishop Burnet complains of the unworthy lives of so many of the clergy; and states that in Scotland, more particularly, their conduct was so flagrantly bad, that they were even despised by the drunken and licentious troopers, who, under their orders, spread rapine and distress throughout the western provinces of that country. One of their commanders, Sir John Turner, "confessed it often went against the grain with him to serve such a debauched and worthless company as the clergy generally were."¶ "And Dalziels, (another of them, who in a drunken fit had hanged a man for refusing to disclose the place of his father's concealment,) as well as

* Bancroft's History of the United States, vol. ii. p. 333.

† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 335.

‡ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 339.

§ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 342.

¶ Burnet's Own Times, Anno 1665

his officers, were so disgusted with the clergy, on account of their excesses and want of compassion, that they spread all manner of evil reports of them.”*

The most notorious character among this class of Scotch churchmen was Sharpe, Archbishop of St. Andrew's, a renegade presbyterian, and a man of dissimulation, treachery, and intrigue, without one redeeming good quality. He had been one of the principal leaders among the Presbyterians, and was delegated by them to Breda, to make terms with Charles II., prior to his embarkation for England; to whom he basely sold his party, and obtained as the price of his treachery the Archiepiscopal chair of St. Andrew's; and, as might be expected, proved a disgrace to the church, and a dishonour to Christianity. He was murdered by John Burley of Balfour, and a party of misled fanatics, May 3rd, 1674. As much as every one must deplore the tragical termination of his career, as well as the lawless violence which hurried him into eternity, and which, although cloaked under the mistaken name of religious zeal, was in fact an ebullition of those bad feelings, which it is one of the chief objects of true religion to correct and subdue; still, we can hardly regard this sad event in any other light than as an awful visitation of retributive justice from the Great Disposer of all things.

Burnet, speaking of the affairs of Scotland at this period, says, “I observed the deportment of our Scotch Bishops was in all points so different to what became their function, that I had more than ordinary zeal kindled within me upon it. They were not only furious against all that stood out against them, but were very remiss in all the parts of their duty. Some did not live within their diocese; and those who did, seemed to take no care of them. They showed no zeal against vice; the most eminently wicked in the country were their particular confidants; they took no pains to keep their clergy strictly to rules, and to their duty; on the contrary, there was a levity and carnal way of living about

* Burnet's Own Times, Anno 1667.

them, that very much scandalized me.”* There were, however, some bright exceptions to this general bad conduct, and their number was dignified by a few men eminent for their great piety and Christian virtue. Such were Robert Leighton, at that time Bishop of Dunblane, and afterwards raised to the Archbishopric of Glasgow; Nairn and Chatteris, ministers; each of whom not only possessed a deep sense of their important duties, but were regulated in all their actions by the Christian virtues of humility, meekness, love, and charity. Burnet testifies of the latter person, “that he often lamented that in disputes about the government of the church, much pains were taken to seek out all those passages that showed their own opinions; but that due care was not taken to set out the notions that they had of the sacred function, of the preparation of the mind, and inward vocations, with which men ought to come to holy orders, or of the strictness of life, the deadness to the world, the heavenly temper, and the constant application to the doing of good that becomes them.”†

By the same writer we are informed that the aspect of ecclesiastical affairs in England was not much better, and that the church was there regarded too much in the light of a state engine, wielded by most of her leading men, for the furtherance of party interests or political purposes. Also, that the church leases, during the Commonwealth, had mostly fallen in, and the fines raised upon their renewal, amounted to one million and a half sterling; which had been shamefully misapplied. “What the bishops did with these great fines was a pattern to all the lower dignitaries, who generally took more care of themselves than the church.” “With this great accession of wealth, there broke in upon the church a great deal of luxury and high living on pretences of hospitality; while others made purchases and left great estates, most of which we have seen melt away. And with this overset of wealth and pomp, that came on men in the decline of their parts and age, they, who were now grow-

* Burnet's Own Times.

† Ibid.

ing into old age, became lazy and negligent in all the true concerns of the church; they left preaching and writing to others, while they gave themselves up to ease and sloth. In all of which sad representation, some few exceptions are to be made; but so few, that if a new set of men had not appeared of another stamp, the church had quite lost her esteem over the nation.”*

These men were Cudworth, Wilkins, Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Tenison, and others, who by their combined endeavours, introduced an improved style of preaching; for the sermons of this period were so encumbered with subtillies of school divinity, and dry discussions of verbal criticisms, that they were but little adapted for the edification of their hearers in spiritual matters, or in the practical duties of a Christian. These men, advocating the broad principle of toleration, were stigmatized by the intolerant party as latitudinarians.

Charles II., although he led a vicious course of life himself, was not blind to the greediness and unchristian deportment of many of the clergy. At a council board in 1667, he said, “the clergy were chiefly to blame for these disorders (alluding to some complaints then before the board,) for if they had lived well, and gone about their parishes, and taken pains to convince the nonconformists, the nation might have been by that time well settled. But they thought of nothing but to get good benefices, and to keep a good table.”†

The same author, in his advice to the clergy, has the following excellent remarks: “Let them live and labour well, and they will feel that so much authority will follow this line of conduct as they will know how to manage well. When I say, live well, I mean, not only to live without scandal, which I have found the greatest part of them to do, but to lead exemplary lives; to be eminent in humility, meekness, sobriety, contempt of the world, an unfeigned love of the brethren; abstracted from the vain conversation of the world; retired, and at home,” &c.

To the bishops, he writes, “If they abandon themselves

* Burnet's Own Times, Anno 1661.

† Ibid. Anno 1667.

to sloth and idleness; if they neglect their proper function and follow a secular, a vain, a covetous, or a luxurious course of life; if they, not content with educating their children well, and with such competency as may set them afloat in the world, think of building up their own houses, and raising up great estates, they will put the world upon many unacceptable inquiries: Wherefore is this waste made? Why are these revenues continued to men who make such an ill use of them? And why is an order kept up, that does the church so little good, and gives it so much scandal? The violence of Archbishop Laud, and his promoting arbitrary power ruined both himself and the church. A return of like practices will bring with it like dreadful consequences. The labour and learning, the moderation and good lives of the bishops of the age, have changed the nation much with relation to them, and have possessed them with general esteem; some fiery spirits only excepted, who hate and revile them for what is their true glory. I hope another age may carry this yet much farther, that so they may be universally looked on as the true and tender-hearted fathers of the church.”*

Religious conformity was another of the erroneous ideas of these times, it was a relit of the old popish leaven, which the mind was not then prepared to shake off. It is not a uniformity in practices and outward observances that can constitute the one Catholic church, but the inward and spiritual acquiescence to the gospel doctrines. Acts of conformity, and all similar unjust laws, may punish the bodies and waste the estates of men, but can never convince their minds. “Man revolts against the oppressions of superstition, the exactions of ecclesiastical tyranny, but never against religion itself. Religious conformity, enforced by penalties, is an oppression of conscience and bigotry, striving to control the mind by the terrors of the law instead of convincing arguments, commits the same error.”†

Another modern writer justly observes, that, “Truth is as the light of the sun. Light descends from heaven one, and

* Burnet's Reformation.

† Bancroft's History of America, vol. i. 447.

always the same; and yet it sheds different colours on the earth, according to the bodies on which it falls. In like manner, slightly differing formulæ may sometimes express the same Christian idea, beheld under different points of view.”*

This measure, founded upon narrow policy, originated as we have shown with Elizabeth; and its evil tendency was protested against by the heads of her reformed church, who foretold that it would prove the bane of religion, which it certainly became in the three succeeding reigns; and as an ingenious writer observes, showed itself as the “Moloch of Christendom, to which many of her choicest sons have been wantonly sacrificed.”† Each separate church, in its turn, became a persecuting one, and as it obtained the power, assumed also a spiritual authority over conscience, and would tolerate no system or tenets but its own.

The erroneous policy of this measure was displayed in another evil effect; for the imperious temper of Elizabeth, refusing any concession to the reformed divines upon those matters which they deemed objectionable, (the settlement of which, we have already stated, they requested she would refer to a synod, and not unalterably decide these questions upon political motives,) not only drove out of the pale of the church many sincere and truly pious men, who might have become, but for these obnoxious points, some of its most eminent ministers and its greatest ornaments; but also opened the door for the admission into its sacred offices, of others less scrupulous in their principles, and more lax in their morals.

This influx of unsuitable characters, in a short time wrought so great a degeneracy in the clerical character, that in the reign of Charles I., many of the clergy were men addicted to sensuality, and unfitted, either by example or precept, to be preachers of repentance unto righteousness. The Sunday was then openly profaned, and the people encouraged, even from the pulpit, in the indulgence on that day of all sorts of

* D'Aubigné's Reformation, vol. iii. book xi. ch. i. p. 333. Whittaker's edition.

† Evan's Memoir of Fox. Introduction, p. xiv.

festivity and pastimes, which mostly ended in drunken excesses, and often in scenes of abandoned profligacy.* The abolition of these irregularities, so much desired by all serious people, was vehemently opposed by Archbishop Laud, who, by his violent and impolitic measures, greatly hastened the overthrow of the church, and paved the way for the advance of the Presbyterians.

The church, under his violent measures, assumed political power, and pretended to divine right. He restored the pomp of the Catholic worship, changed the communion tables into altars, and consecrated them with great parade. "Laud was fond of prescribing minutely the details of new ceremonies—sometimes borrowed from Rome, sometimes the product of his own imagination, at once ostentatious and austere. He altered the interior arrangement of the churches, the forms of worship, imperiously prescribed practices, till then, unknown, even altered the liturgy which parliaments had sanctioned; and all these changes had, if not the aim, at all events the result of rendering the Anglican church more and more like that of Rome."† The same writer tells us, "the bishops were not satisfied with permitting profane pastimes on the sabbath: they recommended—nay, almost commanded them, lest the people should acquire a taste for more holy pleasures."‡

Bishop Burnet, when at Geneva, "employed all the eloquence he was master of, and all the credit he had acquired with their leading men, to obtain an alteration in their practice of requiring subscription to their 'articles' from all who were admitted into orders. He represented to them the folly and ill consequence of such subscriptions; whereby the worthiest men were frequently reduced to the necessity of quitting their native country, and seeking a subsistence elsewhere; whilst others of less virtue were induced to submit, and comply against their conscience, and even begin their ministry with mental equivocations." He farther adds,

* Neal, vol. ii. p. 212. Rushworth, vol. i. book ii. p. 191.

† Guizot's History of the English Revolution, book ii. p. 53.

‡ Ibid. 59.

"The requiring subscription to the thirty-nine articles of our church is a great imposition. The greater part subscribe without ever examining them; and others do it because they must do it, though they can hardly satisfy their conscience about some things in them." The very circumstance of these articles admitting of a mental doubt, is a proof that they are not all fundamentally scriptural, because no sincere Christian, however scrupulous, would hesitate to subscribe to any scriptural precept or injunction.

Creeds, rites, ceremonies, and external observances have hitherto been the instruments employed by priestcraft, to enslave the free powers of the mind, and subjugate it to its own designing purposes. We see the same weapons wielded by a modern party in our church, and for the same end—the re-establishment of priestcraft, and the revivals of the mummeries and superstitions of Rome. The Christian requires no creed beyond the New Testament. "The gospel is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth."* This was the great rule of the Reformation, and by its light and power alone were the errors of Rome overthrown, and held up to desecration. Its plain truths contain every thing necessary for his information. All articles of belief, therefore, ought to be essentially scriptural, and as far as can be done, should be confined even to the *words* of Scripture; for we have no other visible test of faith and doctrine. "How is it possible," said the early French reformers, "to distinguish between what is human in traditions from what is of God, except by the Scriptures of God? The dogmas of the fathers, or the decretals of the popes, cannot be the rule of our faith. They show us what were the opinions of those ancient teachers; but the Word alone teaches us what is the mind of God. Every thing must be submitted to the Scriptures."† Luther declared, that the great object of his writings was to "lead souls to the Bible, after coming to which, they may forsake my writings one and all." "Great

* Romans i. 16.

† D'Aubigné's Reformation, vol. iii. book xii. chap. xii. p. 402.

God!" he exclaims, "had we but the knowledge of Scripture, what need would there be for my books?"*

Reason will examine the pretensions of all human composition, however high its authority. God has endowed man with intelligence, has transmitted to him his revealed will in the holy writings, and has superadded his divine grace, for his spiritual guidance in the right understanding of them. Every article of belief, therefore, which accords not with Scripture in its plainest sense, and with right reason, is repugnant to conviction. The celebrated M. Guizot, in his *History of Civilization*, says, "A conviction does not penetrate the human intellect, unless the intellect be itself accessory to its admission; it must be made acceptable to reason. There is always, under whatever form it may be veiled, an action of individual reason upon the ideas which are pretended to be imposed upon it. It is true, nevertheless, that reason may be perverted; it may to a certain extent nullify or emasculate itself; it may be induced to make a bad use of its faculties, or not to make such use of them as it has a right to do."† "The pretension of *forcing to believe*, if we can put these two words together, or of physically punishing belief, as the persecution of heresy, is a contempt for the legitimate liberty of the human thought."†

After the abdication of James II., and the final discomfiture of all popish machinations, we find dissensions springing up among the Episcopalians themselves, who were divided into two parties: the one composed of moderate and good men, who rejoiced in the toleration now afforded to all dissenters, and in their emancipation from all ecclesiastical persecutions. These men would have hailed with joy any concessions that could have been made of those ceremonies upon indifferent matters, that might have induced the great body of the dissenters to unite themselves under her communion. This party, although much the smallest, included nearly all the bishops, and all the most exemplary and most

* D'Aubigné's *Reformation*, vol. ii. book vi. chap. ix. p. 173.

† *History of Civilization*, by M. Guizot. Lecture v.

pious among the inferior clergy. The other party consisted of violent men, who abhorred toleration, affected jacobitism, leaned towards popish ceremonies, and were disposed to drive all religious differences to extremes. Burnet says of them, "They showed great resentments against the dissenters, and were enemies to toleration, and seemed resolved never to consent to any alteration in their favour. The bulk of the clergy ran this way, so the moderate party was outnumbered. Profane minds had too great advantages from this, in reflecting severely upon a body of men that took oaths, and performed public devotions, when the rest of their lives was too public and too visible a contradiction of such oaths and prayers."*

This disunion in the church continued to widen annually, till in the year 1702, in the reign of Queen Anne, the parties were distinguished by the names of High-church and Low-church. All those who treated the dissenters with Christian charity, who resided constantly at their cures and laboured diligently in them, and who expressed a zeal for the revolution of 1688, were represented as ill-affected towards the church, as favourers of presbytery, and were stigmatized as Low-churchmen.

In the following year, 1703, the High-church party again attempted to bring in a fresh act against conventicles; which, although it was rejected in the Upper House, showed the temper of the party, and how greatly deficient they were in true Christian feeling. The same author informs us, that at the close of the session of parliament in 1704, "The Queen, as she thanked them for the supplies, again recommended union and moderation to them. These words which had hitherto carried so good a sound, that all sides pretended to them, were now become so odious to violent men, that even in sermons, (chiefly at Oxford,) they were arraigned as importing somewhat that was unkind to the church, and favoured dissenters." "It hath ever been the game of the church," says Selden, "when the King would let the church

* Burnet's Own Times, Anno 1689.

have no power, to cry down the King, and cry up the church; but when the church can make use of the King's power, then to bring all under the King's prerogative."

From Burnet we find that "the Convocation of 1704, drew up a representation of some abuses in the ecclesiastical discipline, and in the Consistorial Courts; but took care to mention none of those greater ones, of which many, among themselves, were eminently guilty; such as pluralities, non-residence, the neglect of cures; and the irregularities in the lives of the clergy, which were too visible."

These opinions are confirmed by Lord Shaftesbury, who, about this period, addressing a young clerical student, says, "You have lately received orders from the good bishop, my Lord of Salisbury; who, as he has done more than any man living for the good and honour of the church of England and the reformed religion, so he now suffers more than any man from the tongues and slander of those ungrateful *churchmen*; who may call themselves by that single term of distinction, having no claim to that of Christianity or protestant, since they have thrown off all the temper of the former, and all concern or interest with the latter." And again, "You have been brought into the world, and come into orders, in the worst times for insolence, riot, pride, and presumption of clergymen that I ever knew, or have read of, though I have searched far into the characters of High-churchmen from the first centuries."*

The object of these extracts is, to show that the reformation of our national church was not considered, by many of her worthy divines and other writers upon this subject, to be perfect; but only as a stepping-stone to farther improvements: that they deplored the great stress laid upon a conformity in unimportant matters, by the impolicy of which measure they saw that numbers of worthy people were excluded from her community: and that one of the principal causes of the great spread and influence of dissension and separation in this country, arose from the bigotry, intolerance,

* Elegant Extracts, vol. ii. Epistles.

and want of religious zeal in the bulk of the clergy; and that had different men and wiser measures fallen to the lot of the earliest periods of the Reformation, the church might, in all probability, have gathered under her wings the majority of those who now follow a separate communion.

The very existence of such divisions as High and Low church, Evangelicals, Latitudinarians, Puseyites, and other such invidious distinctions among her clergy, prove, as much as any thing can do, the futility of any pretension to perfection or infallibility, and the necessity for a still farther reformation, which sooner or later will come, as religious knowledge becomes more generally diffused among the people. Should these unhappy differences of opinion still increase and spread, the result may be a separation, wherein one party will carry forward the Reformation some steps in advance, while the other, stickling too much about forms and observances, "about trifles and toys—nosegays, courtesies, and candlesticks,"* will relapse into farther superstitions.

"If convocation were to be restored to the actual existence of its theoretic powers, we should inevitably have a constant agitation in the church—a never-intermitting fever of feud and faction, more intense, more uncontrollable, and more passionate than that which parliamentary elections and debates create in the political world; and a development, we fear, of individual vanity, paradox, and ambition, which could not fail to multiply sects, schisms, and contentions, and, within no long period, to scatter the church and religion itself, to the winds—not of heaven!"† If this statement be true, it certainly substantiates our argument, and proves that something must be very wrong somewhere, when the clergy of the Established Church could not be called in convocation without such results.

Burnet concludes his *History of the Reformation* with this remark:—"There was one thing yet wanting to complete the reformation of the church, which was the restoring

* Quarterly Review, May, 1845, Art. viii. p. 275.

† Ibid. Art. viii. p. 241.

a primitive discipline against scandalous persons, the establishing the government of the church in ecclesiastical hands, and the taking it out of lay hands, who have so long profaned it: and have exposed the authority of the church and the censures of it, chiefly excommunication, to the contempt of the nation; by which the reverence due to holy things is in so great a measure lost, and the most dreadful of all censures is now become the most scorned and despised." When no consideration of dread or shame is attached to this censure, it clearly shows the discipline of the church to be either imperfect or mal-administered; and that the visitations of its pains and penalties, have not been dealt out equally and impartially upon the heads of all offenders, both lay and clerical, to the exception of no grade. Had a contrary practice prevailed, its censures would have been attended with a certain wholesome degradation of character, beneficial to the church.

The greatest, noblest boon of the Reformation, is that she came to us with the Book of Truth wide open in her hand, inviting all to read and judge for themselves; "Come ye, buy, and eat; yea, come, buy wine and milk without money, and without price. Incline your ear, and come to me: hear, and your soul shall live:"—Isa. lv. 1—3. For by the simple precepts of this sacred volume, the plainest understanding of a willing and humble believer, may, by God's grace, be sufficiently instructed in his Christian duties. And let us hope that the day is not far off, when all Christians will lay aside learned traditions and polemical disputes, and consent to make this Book the only test of their faith and practice; for ever discarding all authorities drawn from popish councils and popish error.

Numerous as are the different sects diffused throughout this realm, the Episcopal Church must be considered as the national religion; and in the religious movement of the day, it is to be wished that we may see her foremost in the promotion of pure religion; and that her innovations may be to "purge herself" of the relicts of popish error, and thus advance the Reformation, rather than by a revival of obsolete

practices to alarm her children by the dread of a relapse into superstitions and priestcraft, from which the Reformation, as it now stands, has in a great measure rescued them. Her establishment is also so intimately connected with our constitution and laws, that every well-wisher to his country will rejoice to see her, when the change comes, more firmly established in the good will and veneration of the people.

At the period when George Fox first entered upon his mission as a preacher of righteousness and repentance, (1643) the Reformation had so recently taken place, and the advantages of the plainest education were so sparingly diffused among the people, that great numbers still existed who were in a state of woful ignorance upon religious duties and obligations, numbers also existed who were neither attached to the communion of the Established Church, nor to that of any of the different sects, that a way was thus opened for a "cordial reception" of his doctrines.

In George Fox we have a striking illustration of his own tenet, that a learned education was not, of itself, either necessary or sufficient to make men ministers of the gospel; for, unaided by any advantages of this sort, his reading was confined almost exclusively to the sacred volume; studying it with a fervent desire to be guided by the same Spirit that gave it forth, to the comprehension of its meaning; and not daring to draw any conclusions founded on his own judgment, he waited with deep humility and earnest prayer for what he considered to be the openings of divine grace in his heart, respecting the duties it inculcates.

And thus, we shall see, that his mind arrived by degrees at the conclusions which formed the basis of his future doctrines; and of the peculiar tenets which distinguish the Quakers so much from all other bodies of professing Christians. And although many of his views were only a revival of the doctrine and practice of the early Christian church before the corruption of the apostacy; yet, as far as regarded the then state of religious knowledge, they may be considered original, from having proceeded from intuitive impressions of his own mind, resulting from prayer and meditation.

He exhibits, in his own example, that the attainment of sincere and spiritual piety, is far more profitable than the learning and knowledge required to maintain the controverted points of religious practices; and proves, in his own case, that the study of the holy writings, assisted by divine grace, is of itself sufficient to produce newness of the heart, without any reliance upon the observances of outward forms and ceremonies. And since nothing short of this divine grace can effect in us a saving regeneration, its inward guidance therefore is the most important principle of the gospel dispensation, and is the surest rule for our faith and practice, since it cannot lead into error; and furthermore, is that for which all Christians ought most zealously and watchfully to strive after.*

* A few years prior to George Fox, similar opinions upon religious freedom had been promulgated in New England, North America, by Roger Williams, who, in 1630, announced to the world, the doctrine of the "Sanctity of Conscience." "That the civil magistrate should restrain crime, but never control opinion, should punish guilt, but never violate the freedom of the soul."—"That the doctrine of persecution for the cause of conscience is most evidently and lamentably contrary to the doctrine of Christ Jesus."—"That to compel men to unite with those of a different creed, he regarded as an open violation of their natural rights."—"That the power of the civil magistrate extends only to the bodies, and goods, and outward estates of men."—"He denied the right of a compulsory imposition of an oath." For which opinions, he was cited before the general court at Boston and banished the colony. He afterwards founded the free colony of Rhode Island, of which Providence was the capital. "He would permit persecution of no opinion, of no religion, leaving heresies unharmed by law, and orthodoxy unprotected by the terrors of penal statutes."—*Bancroft's United States*, vol. i. p. 367—376.

CHAPTER I.

1624—1647. Early life—Applies to several clergymen for spiritual consolation under his religious exercises—Singularity of his dress—First opening of Christian truth in his mind—Commences his ministerial duties.

“Remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth; while the evil days come not, nor the years draw nigh, when thou shalt say, I have no pleasure in them.”—Eccl. xii. 1.

“For as the sufferings of Christ abound in us; so our consolation also aboundeth by Christ.”—2 Cor. i. 5.

“But the anointing which ye have received of him abideth in you, and ye need not that any man teach you: but as the same anointing teacheth you of all things, and is truth, and is no lie: and even as it hath taught you, ye shall abide in him.”
1 John ii. 27.

The religious denomination of Christians, commonly called Quakers, or as they designate themselves, “The Society of Friends,” had its beginning with George Fox, the subject of these memoirs. With him originated their religious doctrines, their peculiar tenets, and the by-laws for the government of their Society, and for the discipline of their church; the fundamental principles of which Society, he lived to see established nearly upon the same basis as that upon which it now exists.

From the time of their first rise, in the latter end of the reign of Charles I., to the accession of William III., (with a few exceptions of royal protection from Charles II.,) we shall find them to have been held up as fair objects for the cruel shafts of persecution, by all denominations of Christians. And after the full restoration of Episcopacy, under Charles II., they were, in common with other dissenters, deprived of their civil and national rights, by a series of the most un-Christian and persecuting edicts; and were not only denied the protection of the law, but that law was frequently perverted in order to work their destruction.

It is true, that although these persecuting enactments of the church party were framed against all non-conformists, and were at first levelled chiefly against the Presbyterians and Independents; yet, in the end, they fell more severely upon the Quakers, because the latter, on account of their many marked peculiarities, stood forth conspicuous, by boldly and firmly acting up to their religious tenets, and by faithfully maintaining their principles, without compromising them on the smallest point. In these severe trials, we shall find them trusting alone in God for support and redress, and submitting with Christian resignation to persecutions which they believed themselves called upon to bear for some wise end. For during the unrelenting sway of the High Church polity, all other sects had been driven into obscurity, or had, by mean subterfuges, attempted to cover their religious meetings, by pretexts of hospitality or conviviality. Assertions which the facts of our history fully corroborate.

With the Prince of Orange came in religious toleration, and the strong prejudices against this religious body began gradually to give way; the legislature showing a disposition, in several instances, to alter some of the existing laws in order to meet their scrupulous feelings; which disposition has increasingly gained ground with the nation, till at the present time, no law affecting any of their scruples would be passed without containing an exempting clause in their favour. This shows how unjust and ill-formed were the prejudices formerly entertained against them; since the experience of nearly two centuries has confirmed their character, as a highly respectable, moral, and peaceable people.

George Fox, the founder of this religious Society, begins the journal of his life with these expressive words: "That all may know the dealings of the Lord with me, and the various exercises, trials, and troubles, through which he led me, in order to prepare and fit me for the work unto which he had appointed me, and may thereby be drawn to admire and glorify his infinite wisdom and goodness; I think fit before I proceed to set forth my public travels in the service of Truth, briefly to mention how it was with me in my

youth, and how the work of the Lord was begun, and gradually carried on in me, even from my childhood."

He then commences his narration, from which we learn that he was born at Drayton in the Clay, now called Fenny Drayton, in Leicestershire, in the month of July, 1624. His parents, Christopher and Mary Fox, were respectable tradespeople of that town, his father following the occupation of a weaver, a man of such integrity and virtue, that his neighbours called him for distinction, "Righteous Christie." George, the subject of the following pages, reaped considerable benefit from the advantages of a guarded and religious education, and from the watchful anxiety of a mother eminent for her piety, some of whose ancestors had been numbered among the early martyrs. He was trained up by his parents in the regular attendance upon the religious duties of the church of England, of which they were members. His childhood was remarkable for a sweetness of disposition, an unusual gravity of deportment, and a serious turn of mind; his observations and inquiries were "beyond his years," and were mostly directed to religious subjects. These points of character, in which he differed so much from the generality of children of his own tender age, did not escape the notice of an affectionate mother, who regarded this uncommon sedateness, and the turn it gave to all his actions, as the forerunner of his future serious life. He thus continued until his eleventh year, receiving the plain education suitable to his parents' circumstances, and which never extended beyond the rudiments of reading and writing in his own language. At this time his chief pleasure was derived from the perusal of the holy writings, in which occupation his time was almost exclusively employed, the diligent study of their divine truths appearing to him, even at this early age, the most important of all considerations, while the earnest propagation of his own peculiar views of the precepts they enforce, formed the absorbing occupation of his after life. He thus became deeply impressed with religious considerations, and endeavoured to lead a pure and righteous life, and to be faithful in all things, "inwardly towards God, and outwardly towards

men." Growing up in the constant practice of virtue and piety, some of his relations advised that he should be educated for the church; but, whether from any objections to this proposal on his own part or not, the plan was ultimately abandoned, and he was placed with a shoemaker, who was also a dealer in sheep and wool. His serious manners and religious impressions, however, unfitted him for trading pursuits, and the short time he remained in this employment, he was chiefly engaged in the attendance of his master's sheep, an occupation well suited to his quiet and contemplative habits, and in which he soon became so skilful, and acquitted himself with such diligence and veracity, that he became a general favourite with all his master's connexions; and the constant use of the word "verily," in his dealings, caused those who knew him to say, "if George says verily, there is no moving him." William Penn observes, "that his thus being a shepherd, was a just emblem of his after ministry and service in the Christian church." An observation justified by the sequel of his life, although the circumstance in itself had nothing to do with the formation of his character.

Possessing some little property sufficient for the supply of his moderate wants, he entirely relinquished the pursuit of trade, that he might unreservedly give himself up to his religious impressions; and as he advanced in years, he became more serious and thoughtful. Instead of joining the feastings and merrymakings at Christmas, and on other similar occasions, he used to search out and visit those who were in distress, administering to their necessities as far as his slender means would allow, and from being a general favourite on account of his benevolent disposition, he was often invited to the weddings of his neighbours, and although he always declined their marks of attention, he never failed to call upon the newly married people a short time afterwards: if the parties were in easy circumstances, he gave them his good advice and good wishes, to which he usually added some useful present when they were poor. He was never seen to mingle in childish or youthful sports, and his

tender mind was often grieved when he witnessed the light and rude deportment of irreligious people, and the inconsistent carriage of those who were professors, calling forth this reflection, "if ever I come to be a man, surely I shall not do so, nor be so wanton."

At this period of his life, he frequently visited the clergy man of his native place, Nathaniel Stevens, proposing questions and discussing religious subjects with him. This person having asked him, "Why Christ cried out upon the cross, 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?'" and also, "why he said, 'If it be possible, let this cup pass from me; yet not my will, but thine be done;'" replied, "At that time the sins of all mankind were upon Christ, and their iniquities and transgressions with which he was wounded, and which he was to bear and be an offering for, as he was man; but that he died not, as he was God. And so in that he died for all men, and tasted death for every man, he was an offering for the sins of the whole world." Stevens was greatly pleased with this reply, and confessed that it was a full and good answer, and such as he had never heard before. It shows G. Fox's early perception and deep sense of this fundamental principle of Christianity—the sacrifice of Christ as the only propitiation, the only atonement for the sins of mankind. At this time, Stevens thought very highly of G. Fox, considering him to be an extraordinary gifted young man; but disagreeing with him soon after upon some of his opinions, he gave out that he was mad, and from that time became, and ever continued his inveterate enemy.

When about the age of twenty, being one night engaged in prayer and meditation, it seemed to him that his supplications were answered by these words, "Thou seest how young people go together into vanity, and old people into the earth; therefore thou must forsake all, both young and old, and be as a stranger to them." This he considered to be a divine injunction; and it made so powerful an impression on his mind, that he resolved to break off all familiar intercourse and conversation with both young and old, and even to leave his relations, and lead a solitary life. For this

purpose, he left his native place in September, 1643, and resided for some time at Lutterworth, afterwards at Newport-Pagnel, Northampton, and Barnet, at all of which places he remained for some months, returning home to his friends in the month of June of the following year, 1644.

During this voluntary banishment from society, his time was spent in fasting, prayer, and a diligent perusal of the scriptures. At Barnet, he frequently shut himself up in his chamber for days together, and at other times he strolled about in the solitary chase, waiting upon the Lord in meditation and prayer, and at times suffering greatly from "strong temptations almost to despair." When in this state of mental trial and anguish, he says, "It was opened to his understanding how it was that Christ had been tempted," yet when he contemplated his own condition, he was filled with astonishment, and exclaimed, "Was I ever so before?" He remained for a considerable time under the influence of these depressing feelings, fluctuating between doubt and despair, and at times almost driven to the perpetration of sin; but, "God who knew the integrity of his heart, both supported and preserved him." His serious deportment, at various times, attracted the notice of different religious professors and teachers, who sought his acquaintance; but he perceiving that they neither acted, nor lived up to the principles they professed and taught, soon grew afraid of them and shunned their company. He applied, however, to several of the surrounding clergy for spiritual consolation under his afflictions, but without any success; for these men being incompetent to judge of his state of mind, could afford no relief to his sorrows.

Some of these interviews were of a droll character, and show the low state of religious experience amongst those, whose profession it was to enlighten others. At Mansetta, in Worcestershire, he made application to an elderly clergyman of "some repute," to whom he unburdened his troubles: communicating to him his temptations and feelings of despair, and hoping to gain some sure and solid grounds of comfort. But alas! the only advice he got from him was to take to-

bacco and sing psalms. G. Fox replied, that he was no lover of tobacco, and as for psalms, he was in no condition to sing. The priest then desired him to come again another day, and he would inform him of many things. But upon this second application, he received him uncourteously, and set the "milk lasses and other domestics" to jeer him. He then applied to another clergyman at Tamworth, but with no better success.

Hearing afterwards of Dr. Cradock of Coventry, he was induced to seek his assistance. He requested him to explain the origin of temptations and despair, and how troubles came to be wrought in man. The doctor, instead of answering these queries, put one to him, and asked him, "Who were Christ's father and mother?" G. Fox replied, "Mary was his mother, and that he was supposed to be the son of Joseph, but he was the Son of God." This interview took place in the doctor's garden; and as they walked to and fro, G. Fox chanced to set his foot upon one of the flower borders, which accident so put out the doctor, that losing all temper, he abruptly broke off the discourse, and G. Fox left him much distressed that a professor of Christian meekness should lose his temper for so trifling a matter; and also, that he could find no one to speak comfort to the afflicted state of his mind.

Not dismayed by these three failures, he once more applied to a clergyman of the name of Machan, a man also of high reputation, but who proved no more skilful than the others; for he so mistook his case, as to recommend physic and bleeding for the cure of a "mind diseased," and that, at a time when his bodily frame was so wasted and exhausted by continual grief and fastings, that upon trial, no blood could be obtained either from his head or arms. "So great now," he says, "were his sorrows and mental depressions, that he often wished he had never been born to behold the vanity and wickedness of men; or that he had been born blind, so that he might never have seen it; and deaf, that he might never have heard vain or wicked words, or the Lord's name blasphemed."

At this wandering and uncertain period of his life, he

adopted a striking peculiarity of dress, which he continued to wear for some years afterwards; and it is as well to state, that the leathern garments, which gave him so singular an appearance, were chosen by him solely for their simplicity and durability; and although they often subjected their wearer to the ridicule and abuse of the ill-bred, yet he had no motive beyond the above mentioned for affecting such a garb.

His unsettled habits and dejected turn of mind, were sources of much uneasiness to his parents and friends, who, from the best motives, urged him at this time either to marry, or to enter himself in the parliamentary forces, or to follow some other active pursuit. Being averse to all these proposals, he again quitted his native place and resumed his unsettled life; shunning all intercourse with the neighbourhood where he resided, and changing his abode as soon as he became an object of attention.

In the year 1646, as he was travelling towards Coventry, the following considerations arose in his mind, "how it was said that all Christians are believers, both protestants and papists," and it was opened to his understanding, "that if all were believers, they were all born of God, and had all passed from death to life, and that none were true believers but these; also, that the mere profession of their faith did not make them so in reality." This impression convinced his mind of the insufficiency of all outward professions and observances; and that nothing less than a regeneration begun and carried on in the heart, was sufficient to make a true believer. Hence, originated the rejection of all outward religious ceremonies from the order of public worship which he instituted. At another time, while meditating in the fields one Sunday morning, it was clearly "opened" to him, "that to be trained up in the Universities, and to be instructed in languages, and the liberal arts and sciences, was not sufficient of itself to make any one a minister of the gospel;" the novelty of this position was then a source of astonishment to him, because, in common with other people, he had always believed that such a training was an essential preparation for this holy office. But he now saw, "that the wisdom of this

world is foolishness with God." For it is written, "he taketh the wise in their own craftiness:" 1 Cor. iii. 19. And, that all the learning of the schools could not bestow the gift of the Holy Ghost, without which he saw that no man could be truly called to the preaching of the gospel. Hence arose the fundamental principle of the Quaker ministry. About this time it was also manifested to him, that God who created the world, does not dwell in temples made with hands. This principle also at first startled him, because both priests and people called their churches, "dreadful places," "holy ground and temples of God:" "yet," he says, "it was immediately shown to me, that the Most High dwelleth not in temples made with hands;" Acts vii. 48, but, that He dwelleth in the hearts of his obedient people." From this he perceived that the Church of Christ was a living Church, and therefore he would never after apply this name to a building, but always called the churches steeple-houses; a term generally used by the early Quakers. He now relinquished his regular attendance at his parish-church, believing that something more was required of him, and that he should be more profited by a secret waiting upon God, "who seeth in secret;" for this purpose he retired into orchards or fields, taking with him his bible, and thus seeking to be edified in solitude. This fresh instance of his singularity, again gave uneasiness to his friends; but in reply to their remonstrances, he said, "Did not John the apostle say to the believers, that they needed no man to teach them, but as the anointing teacheth them." Although they assented to the truth of this, they were grieved because he separated himself from their way of worship; for he now saw that to be a true believer was another thing, than what they looked upon it to be. From this time he withdrew himself from fellowship with any of the existing Christian churches, becoming a stranger to all, and "relying wholly upon the Lord Jesus Christ."

In the course of his various perambulations, he fell in with a set of people who maintained the odd notion, "that women have no souls." These he reproved by showing that the scriptures every where refute such opinions, instancing the

song of the blessed virgin, which says, "My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour." Upon another occasion, meeting with a people who professed a superstitious reliance upon dreams, he told them, that unless they could distinguish between the different kinds of dreams, their observations would only amount to confusion: "for a multiplicity of business sometimes caused dreams, and there were also whisperings of Satan as well as speakings of God to man in dreams." These being a people more in want of clear discernment, than of good-will, were convinced by his reasons, relinquished their imaginations, and shortly afterwards united with him in profession.

He passed the early part of the year 1647 in a similar manner to the preceding one, wandering about through various counties, a stranger upon earth: secluding himself in solitary places, fasting often, and often sitting in hollow trees with his bible until night came; and not unfrequently passing whole nights mournfully in these retired places. Although his dejection of spirit was at times very great, he was not without intervals of comfort and hope, sometimes experiencing such heavenly joy, that admiring the great love and mercy of God, he would break forth with these words of the Psalmist, "Thou, Lord, makest a fruitful field a barren wilderness, and a barren wilderness a fruitful field."

As before stated, he had not hitherto been able to find any preacher capable of speaking to his particular condition, or of affording any comfort to him in his distressed frame of mind; and now both from his own experience of their incapacity, and from his newly formed opinion upon the essential qualification for this office, having lost all hope of relief from this quarter, he relates, that he heard a voice distinctly perceptible to his inward man, which spoke to him, and said, "There is one, even Christ Jesus, that can speak to thy condition." Whereupon, he says, "his heart leaped for joy," and he now perceived why he should not rely upon man for aid, "because his whole trust ought to be in the Lord alone, who is alone able to save, and to whom belongs all glory for evermore." He further adds, "for all men are concluded

under sin, and shut up in unbelief, as I had been, that Jesus Christ might have the pre-eminence, who enlightens, and gives grace, faith, and power. Thus, when God doth work, who shall let it? This I know experimentally. My desires after the Lord, and zeal in the pure knowledge of God and of Christ alone, grew stronger; without the help of any man, book, or writing. For though I read the scriptures and spake of Christ and God, yet I knew them not but by revelation, as He who hath the key did open, and as the Father of life drew me to his Son by his Spirit. Then the Lord gently led me along, and let me see his love, which was endless and eternal, surpassing all knowledge that men have in the natural state, or can obtain by history or books."

Notwithstanding the edification and inward support of such experiences as the above, his mental distresses once more overwhelmed him almost to despair, under the impression that he had sinned against the Holy Ghost. "One day," he says, "when I had been walking solitarily abroad, and was come home, I was taken up in the love of God, so that I could not but admire the greatness of his love, and while I was in that condition, it was opened unto me by the Eternal Light and Power, and I therein clearly saw that all was done, and is to be done, in and by Christ; and how he conquers and destroys this tempter, the devil, and all his works, and is above him; and that all these troubles and temptations were good for me for the trial of my faith, which Christ had given me. The Lord opened me that I saw through all these troubles and temptations. My living faith was raised, that I saw all was done by Christ the Life, and my belief was in Him." He now endeavoured to keep fellowship with Christ only; for in his greatest temptations, when he almost despaired, it was shown him, "that Christ had been tempted by the same devil, and that He had overcome him, and bruised his head, and that, therefore, through the power, light, grace, and Spirit of God, he himself might also overcome." Thus, "he found the Lord to assist him in his deepest sorrows, and that his grace was all-sufficient." And whatever lingering desires after the assistance of men yet remained,

still his chief reliance "was upon God, the Creator of all, and his Son Jesus Christ; because nothing could give him any comfort but the Lord by his power."

In this improved frame of mind, his understanding came to be more and more opened respecting divine subjects, so that "he saw how death in Adam had passed upon all men; but that by Christ, who tasted death for all men, a deliverance from it, and an entrance into God's kingdom might be obtained." This belief and hope was to him now, "as an anchor in all the tempests of his troubles." He also perceived "that the appearance of Christ in the heart was as a refiner's fire, and as fuller's soap; and that a spiritual discerning was given him, by which he saw what it was that veiled his mind, and what it was that did open it: and, that that which could not abide in patience, and could not give up to the will of God, nor yield up itself to die upon the cross, he found to be of the flesh." "On the other hand," he says, "he perceived it was the groans of the spirit which opened his understanding, and that in this spirit there must be a waiting upon God to obtain redemption."

It was some time in this year that he first went forth, as a preacher of repentance and good works, to the world. Some meetings were held at Dunkensfield and Manchester, besides at several places, both in Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire. In this early stage of his career as a preacher, his addresses were short, and delivered in a few but powerful words, carrying conviction into the hearts of his hearers. Numbers were soon convinced by the force of his address and the energy of his manner, and meetings, consisting of those who fully united with his religious views, began to be established at different places. The new association called themselves by the simple appellation of "Friends;" a name importing both Christian and brotherly love.

A woman, named Elizabeth Hooton, appears to have been one of his first open converts, and she was the first female preacher of the new sect, and began her ministry in 1651, a few years after her conversion.

Some time during this unsettled period of his life, a con-

flict of mind occurred to him one morning, while sitting by the fire-side in a public room. His faith was beset by a temptation that suggested to him, "that all things came by nature," and his mind remained for a time depressed and clouded under this impression. But continuing to sit quite still, "a living hope at length arose in him, and also a voice, that said, 'there is a living God, who made all things.' Immediately 'the cloud and temptation vanished,' so that in spirit he praised the Lord with gladness of heart; and the people in the room were unconscious of what had been passing in his mind." Soon after this occurrence, he met with a people that held the pernicious doctrine, "that there was no God, but that all things came by nature." And he then saw that it was good for him to have been tried under such a cloud; for it enabled him to confute their errors, and to reclaim some of them.

CHAPTER II.

1647—1649. Falls into a trance—Religious exercises in the Vale of Bevor, and farther spiritual openings from whence arose his peculiar views—Considerations upon some of these.

“And it shall come to pass in the last days, saith God, I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh: and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams.”—Acts ii. 17.

“Blessed are the pure in heart; for they shall see God.”—Matt. v. 8.

The singularity of the character of Fox, and the novelty of many of his doctrines having now spread far about, and having attracted the attention of great numbers, often led him into religious discussions with teachers and professors of all denominations. And as he was accounted “a young man of a discerning spirit,” he was heard with much attention by many, who afterwards still more spread his fame. Some of these professors, however, were greatly enraged as soon as they perceived that many of their followers were led over to his principles; they more particularly attacked his doctrine of perfection, in which he maintained that the redeeming power of Christ is over all sin, and enables us, by faith in him, to overcome it and to be freed from its yoke, the sense of which freedom and perfection in the heart, is unto us a witness of redemption. This doctrine they could not endure, nor would they admit that a holy and sinless life was attainable in this world; and, on the contrary, they taught in their discourses that it was useless for men to strive after it.

It was about this period of his life that he laid, in a kind of trance, for the space of fourteen days; and many who came to see him during that time, “wondered” to see his countenance so much changed; for he not only had the appearance of a dead man, but seemed to them to be really dead. His journal gives us no particulars of this uncommon attack,

and although the account does not positively call it a trance, still, from the following passages, it seems to infer as much. After his recovery, he says, his mind was greatly relieved of its load of sorrows, "so that he could have wept night and day with tears of joy, in brokenness of heart."

The exercise of his mind during this interval of bodily inanition, he describes as follows: "I saw into that which was without end, and things which cannot be uttered; and of the greatness, and infiniteness, and love of God, which cannot be expressed by words, for I had been brought through the very ocean of darkness and death, and through and over the power of Satan; by the eternal, glorious power of Christ: even through all that darkness was I brought which covered all the world, and which chained down all and shut up all in death. And the same eternal power of God, which brought me through those things, was that which afterwards shook nations, priests, professors, and people. Then could I say, I had been in spiritual Babylon, Sodom, Egypt, and the grave; but by the eternal power of God, I was come out of it, and was brought over it, and the power of it, into the power of Christ. And I saw the harvest white, and the seed of God lying thick in the ground as ever wheat did, that was sown outwardly, and none to gather it: and for that I mourned with tears."

1648.—We are now come to the most important passage of his life, for taking up his abode for some weeks, in this year, in the vale of Bevor in Nottinghamshire, (where he had already found many people in unity with his own sentiments,) his mind was brought into deep religious exercise. Here, at the time of his retirement in the fields and solitary haunts, for the purpose of religious contemplation and worship, the mission which he was sent forth to preach to all men, was inwardly and clearly revealed to him; and feeling himself to be especially called to this labour, from henceforth he devoted his whole life to the fulfilment of a duty that he regarded in the light of a divine command; sending him forth into the world, that appeared to his mind "like a briery, thorny wilderness."

The propagation of the peculiar views of the gospel precepts as unfolded to him by this mission, formed the sole absorbing object of his future life; we shall therefore give his own account of it at large.

“It was opened to me,” he begins, “how people read the Scriptures without a right sense of them, and without duly applying them to their own states. For when they read, that death reigned from Adam to Moses; that the law and the prophets were until John; and that the least in the kingdom is greater than John; they read these things outwardly, and apply them to others, (and the things are true of others) but they did not turn inwards to find the truth of these things in themselves.—I saw plainly that none could read Moses aright without Moses’s spirit, by which he saw how man was in the image of God in paradise, how he fell, how death came over him, and how all men have been under this death. I saw that none could read John’s words aright, and with a true understanding of them, but in and with the same Divine Spirit by which John spake them, and by his burning shining light which is sent from God. For by that Spirit their crooked nature might be made straight, their rough nature smooth, and the extortioner and violent doer in them might be cast out; and those that had been hypocrites, might come to bring forth fruits meet for repentance, and their mountain of sin and earthliness might be laid low, and their valley exalted in them, and that there might be a way prepared for the Lord in them; then the least in the kingdom is greater than John. I saw they could not know the spiritual meaning of Moses, the prophets, and John’s words, unless they had the Spirit and light of Jesus; nor could they know the words of Christ and the apostles without his Spirit to guide them.

“Moreover, the Lord let me see, when I was brought up into his image in righteousness and holiness, and into the paradise of God, the state how Adam was made a living soul; and also the stature of Christ, the mystery, that had been hid from ages and generations, which things are hard to be uttered, and cannot be borne by many.

For all the sects of Christendom, with whom I discoursed, I found none that could bear to be told, that they should come to Adam's perfection, into that image of God, that righteousness and holiness that Adam was in before he fell. Therefore, how should they be able to bear being told, that any should grow up to the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ, when they cannot bear to hear that any shall come, whilst upon earth, into the same power and spirit that the prophets and apostles were in? Though it be a certain truth, that none can understand these writings aright, without the aid of the same Spirit by which they were written.

"The Lord God opened to me by his invisible power, how 'every man was enlightened by the divine light of Christ.' I saw it shine through all, and that they who believed in it came out of condemnation to the light of life, and became the children of it; but they that hated it and did not believe in it, were condemned by it, though they made profession of Christ." "This I saw in the pure openings of the light, without the help of any man; neither did I then know where to find it in the Scriptures, though afterwards searching the Scriptures, I found it. For I saw in the Light and Spirit, which was before the Scriptures were given forth, and which led the holy men of God to give them forth; that all must come to that Spirit if they would know God, or Christ, or the Scriptures aright, which Spirit they that gave them forth were led and taught by.

"I was sent to turn people from darkness to the light, that they might receive Christ Jesus; for to as many as should receive Him in his light, I saw He would give power to become the sons of God, which I had obtained by receiving Christ. I was to direct people to the Spirit that gave forth the Scriptures, by which they might be led unto all truth, and up to Christ and God, as those had been who gave them forth. I was to turn them to the grace of God, and to the truth in the heart, which came by Jesus; that by this grace they might be taught what would bring them salvation, that their hearts might be established by it, their words might

be seasoned, and all might come to know their salvation nigh. I saw Christ died for all men, was a propitiation for all, and enlightened all men and women by his divine and saving light, and that none could be true believers, but those that believed therein. I saw that the grace of God, which brings salvation, had appeared to all men, and that the manifestation of the Spirit of God was given to every man, to profit withal. These things I did not see by the help of man, nor by the letter, though they were written in the letter; but I saw them in the light of the Lord Jesus Christ, and by his immediate Spirit and power, as did the holy men of God, by whom the Scriptures were written. Yet I had no slight esteem of the holy Scriptures, they were very precious to me, for I was in that Spirit by which they had been given forth, and what the Lord opened in me, I afterwards found was agreeable to them. I could speak much of those things, and many volumes might be written, but all would prove too short to set forth the infinite love, wisdom, and power of God, in preparing, fitting, and furnishing me for the service he had appointed me to; letting me see the depths of Satan on one hand, and opening to me, on the other hand, the divine mysteries of his own everlasting kingdom.

“When the Lord God and his Son Jesus Christ sent me forth into the world, to preach his everlasting gospel and kingdom, I was glad that I was commanded to turn people to that inward light, spirit, and grace by which all might know their salvation and their way to God; even that divine Spirit, which would lead them into all truth, and which I infallibly knew would never deceive any.”

From these impressions originated one of the most striking features of the Quaker tenets—That the Christian religion is wholly and solely a spiritual religion—an affair between the soul of man and his Maker, who has declared that He will not be mocked by forms and ceremonies, but will be worshipped “in spirit and in truth,” and thus they abolished all ceremonies, and nearly all forms from their system of worship, and made it to consist simply of an humble and patient waiting in silence, for the assistance and

guidance of God's Holy Spirit in their hearts; even their preachers never presuming to break in upon this solemn silence, unless they feel empowered by that Spirit to address the congregation. George Fox further tells us, "But with, and by this divine power and Spirit of God, and the Light of Jesus, I was to bring people off from all their own ways, to Christ the new and living way; from their churches which men had made and gathered, to the church of God, the general assembly written in heaven, which Christ is the head of; and off from the world's teachers made by men, to learn of Christ, who is the way, the truth, and the life, of whom the Father said, "This is my beloved Son, hear ye him;" and off from all the world's worships, to know the Spirit of truth in the inward parts; and to be led thereby, that in it they might worship the Father of spirits, who seeks such to worship Him, which spirit they that worshipped not in, knew not what they worshipped. I was to bring people off from all the world's religions, which are in vain; that they might know the pure religion, might visit the fatherless, the widows, and the strangers, and keep themselves spotless from the world, then there would not be so many beggars; the sight of whom often grieved my heart, as it denoted so much hard-heartedness.

"I was to bring them off from all the world's fellowships, prayings, and singings, which stood in forms without power; that their fellowship might be in the Holy Ghost, the eternal Spirit of God; that they might pray in the Holy Ghost, sing in the Spirit, and with the grace that comes by Jesus; making melody in their hearts to the Lord, who hath sent his beloved Son to be their Saviour, caused his heavenly sun to shine upon all the world, and through them all; and his heavenly rain to fall upon the just and the unjust, (as his outward rain doth fall, and his outward sun doth shine upon all,) which is God's unspeakable love to the world.

"I was to bring people off from Jewish ceremonies, from heathenish fables, from man's inventions and windy doctrines, by which they blow the people about, this way and the other way, from sect to sect, and from all their beggarly

rudiments, with their schools and colleges for making ministers of Christ; who are indeed only ministers of their own making, but not of Christ's; and from all their images crosses, and sprinkling of infants, with their holy days, (so called) and all their vain traditions, which they had got up since the apostles' days, which the Lord's power was against. In the dread and authority thereof, I was moved to declare against them all, and against all that preached and not freely, as such who had not received freely from Christ.

"Moreover, when the Lord sent me into the world, he forbade me to put off my hat to any, high or low; and I was required to *thee* and *thou* all men and women, without any respect to rich or poor, great or small. And as I travelled up and down, I was not to bid good-morrow, or good-evening, neither might I bow or scrape with my leg to any one; this made the sects and professions rage."

At this part of his narrative, he breaks out into an exclamation at the "great rage, blows, punchings, beatings, and imprisonments," which these two innovations upon the established usages of society brought down upon the early Quakers from all classes of people, both clerical and laical. "Although," he says, "it was but a little matter, it caused a wonderful confusion amongst all professors and priests." We must consider that at the time of their introduction by George Fox, they were looked upon as marks of personal disrespect, and a clownish behaviour that wounded the pride and self-love of those who attached any importance to their rank or station; need we then wonder that so little a matter should have called into action so much bad temper, at a time, too, when the minds of men were soured and heated by strong religious and political party feeling? Had the same men lived in these times, when the peculiarities and principles of this Society are better understood, they would have ascribed no more contumely to their practices than we do. He further continues, "I was sorely exercised in going to the courts, to cry for justice, in speaking and writing to judges and justices to do justly; in warning such as kept public-houses of entertainment, that they should not let people have more drink

than would do them good; in testifying against wakes, feasts, may-games, sports, plays, and shows, which trained people up to vanity and looseness, and led them from the fear of God, and the days set forth for holy-days were usually times wherein they most dishonoured God by these things."

These pastimes were by a royal proclamation of James I., in 1618, (issued for the county of Lancashire) made lawful Sunday recreations, provided they did not interfere with the time of divine service.* This proclamation was called forth by the practice of an extreme and mistaken rigour, introduced by the puritanical party in the county of Lancashire, "who held it to be unlawful to dress meat, sweep the house, kindle a fire, or the like," on the Sunday; and were thus reviving the old Mosaic law of the Jewish Sabbath, from which law we are now freed by the sacrifice of our Saviour, who is its fulfilment and end. The proclamation was at first received with so much horror, that many divines in the county flatly refused to promulgate it, although by so doing, they acted contrary to their canonical obedience, and laid themselves open to penalties.

In the seventh year of Charles I., this proclamation, at the instigation of Archbishop Laud, was revived and extended to the whole nation, and was enjoined to be published by all ministers, so that the mischievous practice of such revels upon this day, was advocated from the pulpit, to the disgrace of the Reformed church, and to the no small horror of the Puritans, who, during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I., had been compelled by penalties to conform to the established public worship. By the revival of this offensive proclamation, these disorderly revels had arrived to such a height of licentious depravity, that some well-disposed justices in the county of Somerset petitioned the judges on the western circuit, Sir Thomas Richardson, Lord Chief Justice, and Baron Denham, to suppress them. For so doing, they were summoned before the King and Council, by the Primate, Archbishop Laud, for illegally interfering with the

* Fuller's Church History, Book x. page 74.

ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and the Council rescinded the prohibitions and cashiered the judges.* Without questioning the sincerity of the Primate's religious feelings, the intemperate zeal of his persecuting measures clearly prove how bigoted he was to his own opinions, and how much the zeal, which ends in violence and persecution, is devoid of love, and is therefore incompatible with the mild spirit of Christianity; for if otherwise, how could this prelate have expressed his thankfulness that "Mr. Pryne spoke many words against him, but left his ears behind him in the pillory;" yet this man is now regarded, by the high-church party, in the light of a martyr to the humble and self-denying religion of Jesus Christ, whereas he was only a victim to his own erroneous policy in the government of the church. The word faction, with the sole exception of the Quakers, is applicable to all the religious denominations of that period, who, while rejecting the erroneous doctrines of papacy, still retained enough of its persecuting spirit, to render them all equally intolerant of the differing opinions of one another; and the events upon record teach us, that each separate church, had it possessed the power, would have persecuted to the death all opposing tenets as heresies.

G. Fox continues thus: "In fairs also, and in markets, I was made to declare against their deceitful merchandise, cheating and cozening, warning all to deal justly, to speak the truth, to let their yea be yea, and their nay be nay, and to do unto others as they would have others do unto them; forewarning them of the great and terrible day of the Lord, which would come upon them all. I was moved also to cry against all sorts of music, and against the mountebanks playing tricks upon their stages, for they burdened the pure life, and stirred up people's minds to vanity. I was much exercised too with schoolmasters and schoolmistresses, warning them to teach children sobriety in the fear of the Lord, that they might not be nursed and trained up in lightness, vanity, and wantonness. I was made to warn masters and mis-

* Fuller's Church History, Book xi. page 147.

tresses, fathers and mothers, in private families, to take care that their children and servants might be trained up in the fear of the Lord, and that themselves should be therein examples and patterns of sobriety and virtue to them. For I saw that as the Jews were to teach their children the law of God, the old covenant, and to train them up in it, and their servants, yea, the very strangers were to keep the Sabbath amongst them, and to be circumcised before they might eat of their sacrifices; so all that made a profession of Christianity ought to train up their children and servants in the new covenant of Light, Christ Jesus, who is God's salvation to the ends of the earth, that all may know their salvation. And they ought to train them up in the law of life, the law of the Spirit, the law of love and of faith, that they might be made free from the law of sin and death; and all Christians ought to be circumcised by the Spirit, which puts off the body of the sins of the flesh, that they may come to eat of the heavenly sacrifice, Jesus Christ, that true spiritual food, which none can rightly feed upon, but those that are circumcised by the Spirit.

“But the black earthly spirit of the priest wounded my life; and when I heard the bell toll to call people together in the steeple-house, it struck at my life, for it was like a market bell to gather people together, that the priest might set forth his wares for sale. Oh! the vast sums of money that are got by the trade they make of selling the scriptures, and by their preaching, from the highest bishop to the lowest priest. What one trade in the world is comparable to it? Notwithstanding the scriptures were given forth freely, Christ commanded his ministers to preach freely, and the prophets and apostles denounced judgment against all covetous hirelings and diviners for money. But in this free spirit of the Lord Jesus, was I sent forth to declare the word of life and reconciliation freely, that all might come to Christ, who gives freely, and renews us into the image of God, which man and woman were in before they fell.”

Here we are presented with the origin of the Quaker tenet against a paid clergy of any description, and from the doc-

trines of their founder, they conceive themselves called upon to protest openly against such a ministration of the Gospel, as being contrary to the special injunctions of Jesus Christ, and the practices of the apostles and early Christian church. Thus, they refused to pay all tithes or church demands, patiently submitting to the legal penalties attached to such refusals, and to the rapacity of their enemies, who, in the early periods of the Society, carried their plunder to so great an excess, as not only to involve many in total ruin, but also to subject them to long and cruel imprisonments, which, in many cases of particular hardship, terminated in death. Thus, in 1662, twenty died in different prisons at London, and seven more after their liberation, from their ill-treatment. In 1664, twenty-five died, and in 1665, fifty-two more. The number which perished in this way, throughout the whole kingdom, amounted to three hundred and sixty-nine.

It becomes a subject of interesting inquiry, whether the grand features of this mission of George Fox, and the practice of his early followers resulting from it, are not based upon more solid principles of Christianity, and are not more closely allied to its pure spirit than the world at large generally admit to be essential. It is grounded upon this fundamental principle of the gospel, "that the grace of God, which brings salvation, had appeared to all men, and that the manifestation of the Spirit of God was given to every man to profit withal." And by this inward principle, the grace of God, the light of Christ operating in the heart, he was to call all men off from all the "world's religions" that have been set up by priestcraft since the apostolic times. He maintained, that by a faithful obedience to the inward teachings of this Holy Spirit, we become God's people, and by its aid alone acquire a clear understanding of the Scriptures; but which inward monitor, if continually neglected, or after the example of Felix, dismissed for a more convenient season, will in time be withdrawn, leaving the heart reprobate, and abandoned to its own wicked devices. For God has declared, "My Spirit shall not always strive with man."—Gen. vii. 3. This inward principle is the good seed, which

being sown in all soils, flourishes in some, pines away or is choked in others, and in some individuals finds no root at all. Again, his testimony against all oaths and warfare, as being Antichristian, and in direct opposition to the dictates of our Saviour and the practice of the apostles and early church. And further, his emulation of the noble and disinterested example of the early Christian pastors, who ministered the word of life without fee or reward; and his rejection of all outward ceremonies and forms of worship, because they had degenerated into religious rites, and thus he considered them as so many stumbling-blocks and impediments to that spiritual devotion required of man by his Maker. Such again, his great Christian principle, that no system of policy whatever should be founded upon expediency; but that golden precept of Christ's, "of doing unto others as we would they should do unto us,"—a maxim, that, if faithfully acted upon, would do away at once with all grounds of contention and warfare. The Quakers, therefore, as a body, may be considered universal philanthropists; and in their Christian love and good will to all men, they are as much opposed to every measure which is injurious to the free and just rights of man, as they are the foremost supporters of all those devised for his good.

In George Fox we find the same confiding trust in God's power which supported the earlier champions of reform. "Let not the wise of our day," says Luther, "look to me for so much humility, or so much hypocrisy, as that I should ask their advice before publishing what my duty calls upon me to say. What I do shall not be done through man's prudence, but by the counsel of God. If the work is of God, who shall stop it? Not my will, nor theirs, nor ours, but thy will, O holy Father! who art in heaven." "What courage, what noble enthusiasm, what confidence in God," exclaims our talented historian, "and, above all, what truth, what truth for all time, in these words!"* An exclamation which applies with equal justice to Fox.

* D'Aubigné's *Reformation*, vol. i. book iii. chap. vi. p. 88.

The mission of George Fox was no republican doctrine, "disguised under the form of theology." It never interfered with the existing powers whether monarchical or republican, but taught obedience to the magistrate by enforcing purity of morals. It was a plain, honest, and zealous attempt to clear the gospel from the mist of error and superstition which had long obscured it; to release the minds of the people from the shackles of school-wisdom, and the subtleties of polemical divinity; to hold out to them the true nature of that redemption which it offers to all mankind, a redemption depending upon faith in Christ, repentance from sin, and transformation from the world; but not upon outward rites and ordinances, or creeds drawn up by fallible men. He pleaded alone for religious liberty, for a free toleration of all religious opinions; a principle which in itself involves emancipation of mind, and lays the foundation for the universal and equal rights of all men, the privileged classes as well as those below them; and effectually resists the encroachments of either party upon the just rights of the other, by inculcating the great Christian rule of doing as we would be done by.*

In accordance with these views we shall instance the late Dr. Arnold, master of Rugby, who says, "That the work of Christianity itself was not accomplished so long as political and social institutions were exempt from its influence—so long as the highest power of human society professed to act on other principles than those declared in the gospel; but whenever it should come to pass that the strongest earthly bond should be identical with the bond of Christian fellowship—that the highest earthly power should avowedly minister to the advancement of Christian holiness—that crimes should be regarded as sins—that Christianity should be the acknowledged basis of citizenship—that the region of political and national questions, war and peace, oaths and punishments, economy and education, so long considered by the good and bad alike as worldly and profane, should be looked upon as the very sphere to which Christian principles

* See Bancroft's History of the United States, vol. ii. p. 355.

are most applicable—then he felt that Christianity would at last have gained a position where it would cope, for the first time, front to front, with the power of evil; that the unfulfilled promises of the older prophecies, so long delayed, would have received their accomplishment, that the kingdoms of this world would have indeed become the kingdoms of the Lord and of his Christ.” This passage is quoted from the *Quarterly Review*, cxlviii. p. 501, to which is added the reviewer’s just remark upon it, referring him to the lives of the early Quakers, who in practice carried out these very precepts, “We look upon it, in short, as an ideal mode of expressing the grand object of his life (Dr. Arnold’s,) to show that Christianity is at once real and universal—that it does not belong to one set of persons, but to all—not to one institution, but to all—not only to religious, but equally to what is called secular occupation—and ought to raise its voice not only in the pulpit, but in education, in literature, in parliament—not only in questions between churchmen and dissenters, but on every subject where there is a right and a wrong, of war or peace, of suffering or injustice.”

Converts to the new doctrine now began to spring up in all places where it had been declared, and when we consider, the youthfulness of its promulgator, and the rapidity with which it spread, it is evident that there must have been something powerfully imposing, both in the boldness of his manner, and in the simplicity and energy of his address, which carried conviction into the minds of his hearers of the truth of his mission; for no sooner was his arrival known at any town, than all classes flocked to hear him. His proselytes were drawn from the rich and educated, as well as from the poor and ignorant; and very shortly after his appearance as a preacher, many dissenting ministers, and several clergymen openly embraced his principles, gave up their church preferments, (in some instances amounting to a considerable sum,) and became zealous and eminent preachers among the despised Quakers. On the other hand, those who, either from the natural bias of their prejudices, or from interested motives, were opposed to the novel tenets, became naturally

fierce persecutors of them; because they declared boldly and unsparingly against all sin and folly, against the pride and lust of life, and against all evil doers. They laid the axe to the root of all priestcraft; and the open declaration alone against a hireling or paid clergy, was sufficient of itself to have roused the spirit of persecution in a large body of interested individuals, whose aim it was to decry the new doctrine and hold up its supporters to the contempt of the world.

CHAPTER III.

.649—1651. Imprisonment at Nottingham—Imprisoned in the house of correction at Derby on a charge of blasphemy, and afterwards in the felons' jail—Several of his letters while in confinement in Derby.

"God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty."—1 Cor. i. 27.

1649.—Up to this period, George Fox had passed along comparatively unmolested; but from this year may be dated the commencement of his sufferings on behalf of his religious principles; for as his tenets now began to spread and excite much curiosity, many in authority who were unfriendly to them, endeavoured to suppress them by force.

It was by no means an uncommon practice in those days of religious excitement, for the incumbents, or rather the occupiers of the different parochial livings, to invite religious professors of all sorts to meet and canvass the floating doctrines of the day, both at the churches and at other places; and this practice had already engaged George Fox in many religious discussions, and also accounts for the early Quakers having so often resorted to churches, either to declare their doctrine, or to exhort men to amend their lives, and act up to the spirit of that holy religion they all professed to follow in some shape.

Nottingham was the first place of his imprisonment. He was travelling towards this town, on a Sunday morning to attend the meeting of "Friends," as they now called themselves, and suddenly beholding the spire of the Great Church, he felt himself "moved," he says, "to go and cry out against yonder great idol and the worshippers therein." Proceeding however to the meeting, and finding that this impression of duty still weighed upon his mind, after sitting a short

time, he left it and went to the church, which he entered about the commencement of the sermon. The minister took his text from the following words of the apostle:—"We have also a more sure word of prophecy, whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in your hearts."—2 Peter i. 19.

This passage he explained, by saying it was the Scriptures, by which they were to try all doctrines, religions, and opinions. "Now the Lord's power," says George Fox, "was mighty upon me, and so strong in me, that I could not hold, but was made to cry out, and say, 'Oh no, it is not the Scriptures:' and I told them what it was, namely, the Holy Spirit, by which the holy men of God gave forth the Scriptures, whereby opinions, religions, and judgments were to be tried; for it led into all truth, and so gave the knowledge of all truth. The Jews had the Scriptures, and yet resisted the Holy Ghost, and rejected Christ, the bright morning star. They persecuted Christ and his apostles, and took upon them to try their doctrines by the Scriptures, but erred in judgment, and did not try them aright, because they tried without the Holy Ghost." With respect to the strict interpretation of the text, George Fox is right, because the apostle, by the words "more sure," evidently alludes to something superior to that word of prophecy which the Jews had long possessed. Now nothing can be superior to the holy Scriptures, but the Holy Spirit which gave them forth, and by whose purifying assistance alone, we can truly appreciate them and rightly understand their meaning. To this divine grace, operating and dwelling in the heart, the apostle undoubtedly refers, by comparing it to a "light that shineth in a dark place." On the other side, as it is quite impossible that the Holy Ghost and the Scriptures should not be in the most perfect accordance, so it follows, that the Scriptures are our only outward rule, whereby to try all doctrines, religions, and opinions; and, in this light, the clergyman was perfectly correct. Again, George Fox is not quite clear in his statement, that the Jews took upon them to try our Saviour's

doctrines by the Scriptures. Had they tried them by this sure test, they would not have rejected him. Our Saviour tells them, "Search the Scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life; and they are they which testify of me."—John v. 39. Now the pharisees, having perverted the Scriptures by their vain traditions, and having "resisted the Holy Ghost," which could alone open them to their understandings, could not be said to have tried our Saviour by them. They had fallen into that state described by the prophet, as "hearing, ye shall hear, and not understand; and seeing, ye shall see, and not perceive."—Acts xxviii. 26; and, therefore, they rejected "Christ, the bright morning-star," not because of the Scriptures, but on account of the blindness of their own worldly hearts.

For thus interrupting the service, to the great astonishment of the congregation, he was taken out of the church and cast into prison. This appears to be the only instance of his having broken in upon the services of any religious congregation; for in all his future attendance at churches, he either waited till invited to speak, or till the service was ended; showing, as Clarkson justly remarks, "that, in this instance, he disapproved of his own conduct in having thus interrupted the service; because no punishment or danger ever deterred him from doing, or repeating, whatever he conceived to be his duty."

The same evening, he underwent an examination by the mayor and sheriffs, and one of the latter entered so cordially into his opinions, that he took him to his house, where he had an opportunity of making several proselytes besides this sheriff. After some further discourse with him, on the following morning, the sheriff embraced the new doctrines with so much earnestness, that he went out into the market-place and preached repentance to the people.

No sooner was he released from his confinement at Nottingham, than he proceeded to Mansfield Woodhouse, where entering the church, and finding a few people assembled in the vestry, he addressed them in his usual strain; but who only repayed his exhortation by beating him with their

hands, bibles, and sticks, by putting him into the stocks, and at night-fall stoning him out of the town. Notwithstanding this rude treatment, he tells us, "that some people were convinced of the Lord's truth, and turned to his teachings; at which I rejoiced."

The remainder of this year was passed in travelling up and down, and diffusing every where his religious opinions; and, although he often encountered discouragement from the ignorant populace, yet from among the seriously disposed, he rarely failed of obtaining willing listeners; many of whom were brought over to acknowledge a unity with his principles, and to join with him in the open profession of them.

1650.—The early part of this year, he travelled to Derby, in company with John Fretwell, a husbandman. Derby was at that time in the possession of the parliamentary forces; and many of their leading presbyterian preachers availing themselves of this protection, had resorted thither for the purpose of enjoying a full and uninterrupted opportunity of preaching and lecturing; combining with the intended edification of their hearers no small share of self-gratification by the display of their own skill as polemical divines. A great lecture of this description taking place the day after their arrival, George Fox and his companion went to it; where, having waited with great patience till the different speakers had all exhausted themselves, and the assembly was about to disperse, he arose and addressed them; feeling it to be his duty to tell them "plain and homely truths," not very flattering, we may suppose, since both himself and companion were hurried out and carried before the magistrates, Gervas Bennet and Colonel Barton, who demanded of George Fox, why he came thither? to which he replied, "that God had moved him to it." In this examination, it seems that both parties were led into many words upon religion, for George Fox told them, "they were not to dispute of God and Christ, but obey him." Many other of his observations gave so much offence, that he and his companion were several times thrust out of the room, and then hurried in again. At last, with a view to entrap him into some answer, by which

they might lay hold of him, they asked him, "If he had no sin?"

George Fox. "Christ, my Saviour, has taken away my sin, and in him there is no sin."

Justices. "How do you know that Christ does abide in you?"

George Fox. "By his Spirit, that he has given us."

They were then asked, "If either of them was Christ?"

George Fox. "Nay we are nothing, Christ is all."

Failing upon this point, they next endeavoured to stigmatize them as Ranters, and asked him, "If a man steal, is it no sin?" which he answered with these words of Scripture, "All unrighteousness is sin."

After a long examination, and not knowing what to convict them of, they at last committed them to the house of correction, for six months, as blasphemers, according to the late act, an act which had been just passed against the Ranters, for disseminating the dangerous opinion, "that moral evil is no sin," with other equally extravagant notions.

We have no particulars of the substance of his address, at the foregoing lecture, but from the following remark in his own account of the transaction: "Now did the priests bestir themselves in their pulpits, to preach up sin for a term of life. Much of their work was to plead for it, so that people said, 'never was the like heard:'" we may conclude that the offensive topic was his doctrine of perfection, which, as before stated, at the beginning of the second chapter, was so inadmissible by the Presbyterians. This portion of his doctrine, together with that which was levelled against a paid clergy, created the greatest disturbance among all parties; for the grand object both of Presbyterians and Independents, in seeking the overthrow of the Established Church, was not to secure a toleration for themselves and others, but by a seizure of her power and temporalities, to establish their own supremacy and the infallibility of their own creeds.

As a further confirmation of this conclusion, we find that so deeply had his words sunk into the hearts of these "high professors," that many of them came to him in prison, to

plead for "sin and imperfection." In one of these interviews, he asked them "If they were true believers, and had faith, and in whom? And that if they were true believers in Christ, they had passed from death to life; and if from death, then also from sin, which bringeth death: and if their faith were true, it would give them victory over sin and the devil, purify their hearts and consciences, and bring them to please God, and give them access to him again." But as they denied this doctrine, and maintained that no one can be free from sin on this side of the grave, G. Fox told them to "forbear talking of the scriptures, which were holy men's words, whilst they pleaded for unholiness."

In the house of correction, he very soon lost his companion, who, unlike his early converts, was unable to endure, when persecution assailed, but recanted and got released. G. Fox, however, would not compromise his principles upon the smallest point, and in consequence, remained a prisoner for his full term of six months; after which, he was again consigned to durance for a further term of six months, and upon this occasion, was shut up with the felons in the common jail. His pen, however, was busily employed during this time, and he wrote many letters of warning and exhortation, according as his sense of duty moved him to do so, addressing, at different times, judges and magistrates, clergy and people, besides several letters to his own followers.

Soon after his commitment, some of his relations came over from Drayton, expressly to procure his liberation. Upon this occasion, he was again brought before the committing magistrates, who now required, for his enlargement, that he should be bound for his good behaviour. But he considering himself to be unjustly and illegally imprisoned, would neither be bound himself, nor suffer his relatives to become sureties for him, because such an act would amount to a tacit acknowledgment of delinquency.

Bennet behaved with so much ill-temper, during this examination, that G. Fox fell down upon his knees in the court, and prayed that his persecutors might be forgiven for their unjust proceedings. This so exasperated him, that losing all

bounds, he fell upon the prisoner and beat him with both his hands, crying out, "Away with him, jailer!" "take him away, jailer!"

In consequence of this ill-treatment, he wrote the following lines to the magistrates:—

"FRIENDS,

"See what it is in you that doth imprison. See who is head in you. See if something do not accuse you. Consider, you might be brought to judgment. Think upon Lazarus and Dives, the one fared sumptuously every day, the other a beggar. Now you have time, prize it while you have it. Would you have me bound for my good behaviour? I am bound for my good behaviour, and cry for the good behaviour of all people, to turn from the vanities, pleasures, oppressions, and deceits of the world. There will come a time, that you shall know it. Therefore, take heed of pleasures, deceits, and pride, and look not at man, but at the Lord: for, 'Look unto me, all ye ends of the earth, and be saved,' saith the Lord.

"GEORGE FOX."

He wrote also to the judges on the subject of our penal law, which condemned men to death for small crimes. It is an appeal that reflects credit upon his benevolent feelings, and in all probability is one of the earliest remonstrances we have on record against the barbarity of our late criminal code. He had suffered much because the penalty of death was so often enforced for small offences, and that our laws, instead of being based upon the milder precepts of the gospel, were even more cruel than the old law of Moses.

To his own followers, he wrote:—

"FRIENDS,

"The Lord is King over all the earth! therefore all people, praise and glorify your King in the *true* obedience, in the uprightness, and in the beauty of holiness. O! consider, in the true obedience the Lord is known, and an understanding

from him is received. Mark, O man! and consider in silence, in lowliness of mind, and thou wilt hear the Lord speak unto thee in thy mind: his voice is sweet and pleasant; his sheep hear his voice, and they will not hearken to another: and when they hear his voice, they rejoice and are obedient; they also sing for joy. Oh, their hearts are filled with everlasting triumph! they sing, and praise the eternal God in Sion: their joy shall never man take from them. Glory be to the Lord God for evermore!

“GEORGE FOX.”

To the Presbyterian ministers of Derby, he wrote as follows:—

“FRIENDS,

“You do profess to be ministers of Jesus Christ in words, but you show forth by your fruit, what your ministry is. Every tree doth show forth its fruit: the ministry of Jesus is in mercy and love, to unloose them that are bound, and to bring out of bondage, and to let them that are imprisoned go free. Now, friends, where is your example, (if the scriptures be your rule,) to imprison for religion? Have you any command for it from Christ?—But if you do build upon the prophets and apostles in words, and pervert their life, remember the woes which Jesus spake against such. Where envy, pride, and hatred rule, the nature of the world doth rule, and not the nature of Jesus Christ. I write with no hatred to you, but that you may weigh yourselves, and see how you pass on your time.

“GEORGE FOX.”

To the Mayor of Derby, who had been concerned in his imprisonment, he sent these lines:—

“FRIEND,

“Thou art set in place to do justice: but in imprisoning my body, thou hast done contrary to justice, according to your own law. O! take heed of pleasing men more than God, for that is the way of the Scribes and Pharisees; they

sought the praise of men more than God. Remember who said, 'I was a stranger, and ye took me not in; I was in prison, and ye visited me not.' O friend! thy envy is not against me, but against the power of truth. I bore no envy to you, but only love. O friend! if the love of God were in thee, thou wouldest love the truth, and hear the truth spoken, and not imprison unjustly. O remember Lazarus and Dives! one fared deliciously every day; and the other was a beggar. O friend! mind these things; for they are near, and see whether thou be not the man that is in Dives's state.

"GEORGE FOX."

About the termination of his first term of six months' imprisonment in the house of correction, the Parliament being desirous of raising as many troops as possible against the King's forces, induced the commissioners to send for George Fox and offer him a captaincy over a newly levied force, to fight against Charles Stuart, as the King was then called by the Presbyterians. For, singular as it may appear, these newly levied soldiers had declared that they would fight under no other leader, which proves the general good esteem in which he was held, although at the time a prisoner in the house of correction. The religious principles of G. Fox being altogether opposed to warfare, he positively refused to take arms in any way, either for or against his King; and upon being much pressed and entreated to do so by the magistrates, who now said they offered him this employment in love and kindness on account of his virtue (notwithstanding they had ostensibly detained him in prison for six months on a charge of blasphemy,)—he told them in reply, "that if that were their love and kindness to him, he trampled it under his feet." Whereupon their feigned love became most suddenly converted into violent rage; and he was condemned to a further term of six months, with the felons in the common jail. Upon this occasion, he wrote again to the magistrates:—

“FRIENDS,

“You, who are without Christ, and use the words which he and his saints have spoken, consider, neither he nor his apostles did ever imprison any; but my Saviour is merciful even to the unmerciful and rebellious. He doth bring out of prison and bondage: but men, while the carnal mind doth rule, do oppress and imprison. My Saviour saith, ‘Love your enemies, and do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you, and persecute you:’ for the love of God doth not persecute any; but loveth all, where it dwelleth: ‘he that hateth his brother, is a murderer.’ You profess to be Christians, and one of you a minister of Jesus Christ,* yet you have imprisoned me who am a servant of Jesus Christ. The apostles never imprisoned any, but were imprisoned themselves: take heed of speaking of Christ in words, and of denying him in life and power. O friends! the imprisoning of my body is to satisfy your wills; but take heed of giving way to your wills, for that will hurt you. If the love of God had broken your hearts, ye would not have imprisoned me; but my love is to you, as to all my fellow-creatures: and that you may weigh yourselves, and see how you stand, is this written.

“GEORGE FOX.”

The following is an extract from a letter to his own followers, cautioning them to beware of the world’s policy, and the deceitful practices of priestcraft.

“FRIENDS,

“Christ was ever hated; and the righteous, for his sake. Mind who they were, that did ever hate them. He that was born after the flesh, did persecute him that was born after the Spirit; and so it is now. And mind who were the chiefest against Christ; even the great learned men, the heads of the people, rulers and teachers, that did profess the law

* Nathaniel Barton—justice of the peace, colonel of the parliament, and presbyterian preacher.

and the prophets, and looked for Christ; they looked for an outwardly glorious Christ, to hold up their outward glory: but Christ spake against the works of the world; and against the priests, and scribes, and pharisees, and their hypocritical profession. He that is a stranger to Christ is an hireling; but the servants of Jesus Christ are freemen. The false teachers always laid burdens upon the people: and the true servants of the Lord did speak against them. Jeremiah did speak against hirelings, for the people and priests were given to covetousness. Paul did speak against such as did make gain upon the people; and exhorted the saints to turn away from such as were covetous men and proud men, such as did love pleasures more than God; such as had the form of godliness, but denied the power thereof. Paul did not preach for wages; but laboured with his hands, that he might be an example to all them that follow him. O people, see who follow Paul! The prophet Jeremiah said, 'The prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests bear rule by their means;' but now the priests bear rule by the means they get from the people: take away their means, and they will bear rule over you no longer. They are such as the apostle said, intruded into those things which they never saw, being vainly puffed up with a fleshly mind, &c. &c.

“GEORGE FOX.”

During his confinement with the common felons, he represented to the judges how very prejudicial it was, that prisoners should lie so long in jail before their trial; because they learned wickedness one of the other, and corrupted one another, by talking of their evil deeds. He says, “That being a tender youth, he was much distressed by their bad language, and often had occasion to reprove them for their wicked words, and loose conduct:” also that, “he was mercifully preserved in innocency, so as not to have forgotten himself once, either in action or word, during his companionship with such reprobates;” for as long as he remained in this jail, he was shut up among the worst of thieves and vagabonds.

His benevolent exertions were also called forth on behalf of a young woman, a fellow-prisoner, who was condemned to death for robbing her master. He wrote separately, both to the judge and to the jury, pleading mercy for her. The awful sentence of death, however, was passed, her grave was prepared, and she was led forth to execution; but after ascending the fatal ladder, she was reprieved and sent back to prison. This young woman, rescued on the brink of the grave, became a sincere penitent, renounced her evil life, and afterwards embraced the principles of G. Fox, and died a Quaker. This term "Quaker" was first applied to George Fox, in mark of derision, by the aforementioned Gervas Bennet, who, in one of his examinations, bestowed the epithet, because G. Fox bid him tremble and quake before the power of the Lord.

The circumstance of this young person's condemnation, afforded him one of those opportunities which he never neglected, of reproving evil courses, and of admonishing all to repent and amend their lives. He drew up a paper warning all to beware of the sin of covetousness, which leads men into evil, and from God; to avoid all earthly lusts, and to prize the time while it was in their power to benefit by its use. This paper, by his desire, was read to the people who had assembled at the foot of the gallows in expectation of seeing the execution alluded to.

Several curious incidents, indicating the temper of the times, occurred during his imprisonment at Derby. The keeper of the house of correction, Thomas Sharman, was a rigid Presbyterian, and at first was so enraged against G. Fox, because he dared to call in question some of their principles, that he not only abused him to all men, but wilfully wronged him against the convictions of his own conscience. This perverse conduct at last produced so much distress of mind, that he could obtain no peace till he had confessed and lamented his error to G. Fox, and he now became so convinced of the truth and integrity of his character, that he went the next morning to plead for him to the justices, telling them, "that he and his house had been plagued on

account of George Fox." The reply of Justice Bennet shows that the magistrates had not much better reason to be satisfied with their own proceedings, saying, "that the plagues were on them also for keeping him." Under the hope of getting rid of their prisoner without any further trouble, they gave orders that he might have liberty to walk a mile, vainly supposing that he would avail himself of this chance and take himself quietly away. But he seeing through their design, told the jailer, "that if he would point out exactly how far a mile was, he might perhaps occasionally avail himself of this privilege; but, that he had no mind to gain his liberty clandestinely." In the course of time, the jailer himself became a Quaker, and twelve years after this event, wrote the following letter to G. Fox:—

"DEAR FRIEND,—

"Having such a convenient messenger, I could do no less than give thee an account of my present condition; remembering, that to the first awakening of me to a sense of life, and of the inward principle, God was pleased to make use of thee as an instrument. So that sometimes I am taken with admiration that it should come by such a means as it did; that is to say, that Providence ordered thee to be my prisoner, to give me my first real sight of the truth. It makes me many times to think of the jailer's conversion by the apostles. Notwithstanding my outward losses are, since that time, such that I am become nothing in the world, yet I hope that I shall find that all these light afflictions, which are but for a moment, will work for me a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory. They have taken all from me; and now instead of keeping a prison, I am rather waiting when I shall become a prisoner myself. Pray for me that my faith fail not, and that I may hold out to the death, that I may receive a crown of life. I earnestly desire to hear from thee, and of thy condition, which would very much rejoice me. Not having else at present, but my kind love unto thee and all Christian friends with thee, in haste, I rest thine in Christ Jesus.

"THOMAS SHARMAN."

"Derby, 22d of 4th Month, 1662."

Upon one occasion, he was visited by a trooper of the parliamentary forces, who told him that having been in great trouble of mind, he heard a voice, (which he took to be the Lord's,) that said to him, "Dost thou not know that my servant is in prison? Go to him for direction." G. Fox then explained to him the nature of his inward condition, and told him, "that which showed him his sins, and troubled him for them, would also show him his salvation; because he that shows a man his sin, is the same that takes it away." The trooper rejoiced at this intelligence, and becoming sensible of God's mercies, he spoke boldly of this principle among his fellow-soldiers, and declared that their colonel (Colonel Barton) "was as blind as Nebuchadnezzar, to cast the servant of the Lord into prison." The colonel was so much incensed at this reflection upon his spiritual capacity, that at the time of the Worcester fight, when the two armies were lying close to each other, and two soldiers of the royalists sent a challenge to fight with any two among the parliamentarians, he picked out this man as one to answer the challenge. In the encounter, his companion in arms was slain, but nothing dismayed at this disadvantage, he drove both his antagonists within musket-shot of the town without firing a pistol. After his victory, he discovered how unfairly he had been selected for this service by his colonel, and shortly afterwards, becoming convinced how opposed all fighting is to Christian precepts, he laid down his arms and turned Quaker.

At another time, a Baptist soldier came to him and asserted, "Your faith stands in a man that died at Jerusalem, and there was never any such thing." G. Fox says, "Being exceedingly grieved to hear him, I said, 'How! did not Christ suffer without the gates of Jerusalem, through the professing Jews, chief priests and Pilate?' He denied that Christ ever suffered there outwardly. Then I asked him, 'whether there were not Jews, chief priests, and Pilate outwardly?' Being unable to deny this, I told him, 'as certainly as there was a chief priest, Jews, and Pilate, so certainly Christ did suffer there outwardly under them.' Yet from this man's words was a slander raised against us, that the Quakers denied

Christ that suffered and died at Jerusalem, which was all utterly false, for the least thought of it never entered our hearts."

The Derby magistrates at last becoming uneasy at their own proceedings, and not a little puzzled how to act, or what to do with him, seeing that they had not even a legal charge which could justify them for his detention in prison, gave orders that he should be released without either trial or further examination. This took place about the beginning of the winter, 1651.

CHAPTER IV.

1651, 1652. Remarkable occurrence at Lichfield—Travels into the East Riding of Yorkshire—Falsely accused at Gainsboro'—Travels into the West Riding of Yorkshire—Religious impressions at Pendle Hill.

"For my thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways, saith the Lord. For as the heavens are higher than the earth, so are my ways higher than your ways, and my thoughts than your thoughts."—Isa. lv. 8, 9.

George Fox having gained his liberty without having made any concession of his principles, or having in any way compromised the cause for which he had cheerfully suffered, set out immediately for his native county of Leicestershire, holding meetings at all convenient places on his way thither; and after a short stay, passing from thence into Staffordshire, he relates the following extraordinary occurrence.

"As I was walking with several friends, I lifted up my head and saw three steeple-house spires, and they struck at my life. I asked them, what place that was? They answered, Lichfield. Immediately the word of the Lord came to me, that I must go thither. Being come to our journey's end, I requested my friends to walk into the house, saying nothing to them whither I was to go. And as soon as they were gone in, I slipt away, and went by my eye over hedge and ditch till I arrived within a mile of Lichfield; where, in a great field, shepherds were keeping sheep. There I was commanded of the Lord to pull off my shoes. I stood still, for it was winter; and the word of the Lord was like fire in me. So I put off my shoes and left them with the shepherds; and the poor shepherds trembled and were astonished. Then I walked on about a mile, and as soon as I got within the city, the word of the Lord came to me again, saying, cry, 'Wo to the bloody city of Lichfield.' So I

went up and down the streets, and into the market, crying with a loud voice, 'Wo to the bloody city of Lichfield!' and no one laid hands on me. As I went thus crying through the streets, there seemed to me a channel of blood running down the streets, and the market-place appeared a pool of blood. When I declared what was upon me, and felt myself clear, I went out of the town in peace; and returning to the shepherds, gave them some money and took my shoes of them again. But the fire of the Lord was so in my feet, and all over me, that I did not matter to put on my shoes again, and was at a stand whether I should or not, till I felt freedom from the Lord to do so: then, after I had washed my feet, I put on my shoes. After this, a deep concern came upon me, for what reason I could be sent to cry against that city, and call it a bloody city! But afterwards I came to understand, that in the Emperor Dioclesian's time, a thousand Christians were martyred in Lichfield. So I was to go, without my shoes, through the channel of their blood, and into the pool of their blood in the market-place, that I might raise a memorial of the blood of those martyrs, which had been shed a thousand years before, and lay cold in their streets."

This conclusion appears to have satisfied his own mind, and here his narration finishes; nor does it appear in what manner this denounced wo ever took place, or that any visible effect ever arose from this "memorial of the blood of the martyrs." The account of the martyrdom is only founded upon a tradition, which, like all others, is most probably grounded upon some facts, now involved in so much obscurity, that, at this distant period, we can arrive at no satisfactory decision, and must therefore leave the narration as we find it.* It is evident, however, that George Fox,

* Popular tradition states, that this blood was shed in a field about a mile from the present site of the city, and now called the "Christian field." If it happened during the reign of Dioclesian, it must have been about A. D. 300, because his last cruel edict against the Christians, which formed the tenth persecution, was issued A. D. 304. At which time Britain was peopled with its own aborigines, who, when abandoned by the Roman legions in 447, called in the Saxons to their aid.

like many of his contemporaries, partook largely of the enthusiastic feelings of the age, and that his mind, at the time, must have been under the influence of strong excitement; but as he was an extraordinary religious character, and conceived himself to be especially called to fulfil an important mission; the safest conclusion is, that this act might have been required of him as a test of his faith and obedience. An opinion which is strongly confirmed by the simplicity and purity of his life, and the clearness of his doctrines, contrasted with the general darkness of the age. It also affords a striking example of that undaunted courage, he so boldly displayed upon all occasions, where his sense of religious duty called upon him to yield implicit obedience to its injunctions. His enthusiasm, though tinged in some measure with the character of the times, partook of that self-denying abstraction from worldly pursuits, that unshaken reliance upon God's support, and energetic devotion to his service, only to be met with in the prophets and apostles of old, and in some few examples of extraordinary characters, since the propagation of Christianity. How different to the modern

The two battles fought, during the siege of the Close, in the civil war between Charles I. and the Parliament, took place, according to Clarendon, in 1642 and 1643, eight years prior to George Fox's visit, and the loss of life resulting from these contests was confined to the belligerents alone.

In Fuller's Church History, these thousand Christian martyrs are said to have been inhabitants of the ancient city of Verulam, now St. Alban's; and were the early converts of Saint Alban. His account states, that upon their setting out into Wales, they were pursued by their pagan townsmen, and massacred not far from their own city, A. D. 303. And he treats with great improbability the account given by another writer, who makes this massacre to have taken place at a spot so far distant from St. Alban's as Lichfield.

Mosheim, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, speaking of this tenth persecution, says, "that immense numbers of persons, illustriously distinguished by their piety and learning, became victims to this cruel edict, throughout the whole of the Roman empire, Gaul excepted, which was under the mild and equitable dominion of Constantine Chlorus."—*Mosheim*, fourth century, chap. 7. part 1. This account involves the whole tradition in some doubt; for as Britain formed a part of the province of Gaul, why should it have been exempt from the benefit of the mild sway of Constantine Chlorus? who died at York, A. D. 306; and his son Constantine, afterwards called the great, was saluted by the legions with the title of Augustus, and by them invested with the purple.

“lack-a-daisical enthusiasm of devotional experiences, the sentimental enthusiasm of religious bazaars, the oratorical enthusiasm of charitable platforms, and the tractarian enthusiasm of well-beneficed ascetics.”*

From Lichfield he went into Derbyshire and Yorkshire, boldly declaring his doctrine at the meetings and churches, preaching repentance, calling all men to their inward teacher, the grace of God, and advancing one position which caused no small stir every where, “that the *church* was the pillar and ground of truth, made up of living stones, living members, a spiritual household, of which Christ is the head: but that he was not the head of a mixed multitude, or of an old house, made up of lime, stones, and wood.” This journey was confined principally to the East-riding of the county, extending as far as Whitby and the Moors, and finished at Hull, from whence he returned into Nottinghamshire.

He was in general well received, and enjoyed the opportunity of spreading his views among an extensive population; and so forcibly did he appeal to the understanding of his audience, and so clearly did he expound his doctrine and the Scriptures upon which it was founded, that great numbers cordially assented to the truth he advanced, became Quakers, and many meetings of this Society were, in consequence, established at different places. Some of the most remarkable events of this journey are strikingly characteristic of the times.

At Crantsick, he found a sincere welcome at the houses of Captain Parsloe and Justice Hotham, both of whom were men of influence in their neighborhood, from their station in life, and from the respectability of their characters. Passing through Beverley, on the Sunday previous to his arrival at Crantsick, he went into the church, during the morning service, and in the afternoon visited the church of the adjoining parish. At both of which places, after the ministers had finished the service, he spoke to them and the people, expounding to them the way of life and truth, and the ground

* Edinburgh Review, vol. xxxv. p. 335.

of election and reprobation. Upon the commencement of his address, at the latter place, the minister told him, "he would not dispute," (a remark, which of itself, infers the common practice of the day.) George Fox replied, "he did not come to dispute, but to hold forth the word of truth, that they might all know the one seed—Christ, to which the promise was, both male and female." This congregation was so pleased with his exhortation, that they begged of him to come again and preach to them; but he, directing them to their Teacher, Jesus Christ, went away. A few days after this occurrence, and while he was staying at Justice Hotham's, a lady of rank called there, who, in discourse with the Justice, said, "The last Sabbath-day, there was an angel or spirit, came into the church at Beverley, and spoke wonderful things of God, to the astonishment of all that were there; and when it had done, it passed away, and they did not know whence it came or whither it went; but it astonished all, priests, professors, and magistrates."

It was also during his stay at this house, that he attended the afternoon service at a neighbouring church, at which preached "a great high priest, called a Doctor." George Fox says, "I went into the steeple-house and stayed till the priest had done. The words that he took for his text were these, 'Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money; come ye, buy, and eat; yea, come, buy wine and milk without money and without price.'—Isa. lv. 1. Then was I moved of the Lord to say to him, 'Come down, thou deceiver; dost thou bid people come freely, and take of the waters of life freely, and yet thou takest three hundred pounds a year of them, for preaching the Scriptures to them. Mayst thou not blush for shame? Did Christ or the prophet Isaiah, who spake the words and gave them forth freely, do so? Did not Christ say to his ministers, whom he sent to preach, 'Freely ye have received, freely give?' The priest, like a man amazed, hastened away. After he had left his flock, I had as much time as I could desire to speak to the people, and direct them from darkness to light, and to the grace of God, that would teach them, and

bring them to salvation; to the Spirit of God, in their inward parts, which would be a free teacher to them."

Although, in the above instance, he waited till the service was ended, yet it somewhat resembles that which occurred at Nottingham, and as it was never repeated, we may conclude, that upon this occurrence also, his zeal overstept his own sense of decorum. Without doubt, the "great high-priest" believed as fully and as sincerely as George Fox, that he offered "wine and milk without money and without price;" for the dark reign of popery had long vanished from the land, penance was no longer paid for, indulgences were not sold, and the duties and obligations of religion had ceased to become venal. The gospel was preached, and its precepts were expounded to the people. The parochial maintenance herein alluded to, it must be recollected, arose from bona-fide property, set aside by our ancestors, ages before, for the especial purpose of maintaining a national clergy, and therefore could it ever possibly happen, that, by the universal consent of the nation, this church should cease to exist, this property would no more belong to the landlord and tenant, than it would to any indifferent individual. And furthermore, therefore, the parishioners could not be said to pay their pastor for "preaching the Scriptures to them."

The Quakers differ from nearly the whole Christian world, as much in refusing a maintenance for their ministers, as in their ideas of the necessary qualifications for this important office. And thus as the spiritual teachers and pastors of the different existing churches, bear resemblance to the Jewish priesthood, in this one particular, for here the analogy ends; so those of the early Quakers, by their lives of self-denial and renouncement of the world, more especially resemble the prophets and men of God of old. Like them, they were drawn from no particular class—like them, their dependence and reliance was solely upon God, and from the inward communications of his Holy Spirit alone, their exhortations proceeded. Many of these early preachers, like George Fox, were very extraordinary characters. If possessing estates, they sought not to enrich themselves by increase;

but when without temporal resources, they deemed it incumbent on themselves to labour with their own hands, after the example of Paul, that they might not become burdensome to the church.

At Stath, near Whitby, among other of his converts, he numbered a clergyman, named Philip Scafe. It was at a meeting, at this place, that a priest who came to dispute with him, asserted that the "gospel was mortal." George Fox replied, "that the true minister said, the gospel was the power of God, and would he make the power of God mortal?" Such were the extravagant notions of the class of preachers, who had now found their way into the pulpits of the established church, visionary aspirants, carried away by each ebb and flow of the changing opinions of the day. Another priest in this neighborhood challenged George Fox to a disputation; but upon his entering the house, he fled and hid himself under a hedge. George Fox then went to an adjoining church, the minister of which had also threatened to expose his doctrine, if he ever came there; but no sooner did he make his appearance, than this pastor fled and abandoned his flock. George Fox finding himself unexpectedly in the quiet possession of the field, lost not this opportunity of addressing the people, who were mostly eager to hear him, and to whom he gave general satisfaction. He remarks, in his journal upon these occurrences, "that it was a dreadful thing to the priests, when it was told them, the man in the leathern breeches is come."

At Malton church, the Quakers were accused of being "the false prophets, that were to come in the last times." George Fox stepping upon a high seat, and requesting all to be silent, declared to them the marks of the false prophets; and pointed out to them that they had already been come a long time. He then directed the people to their inward Teacher, Jesus Christ, who would turn them from darkness to himself, the Light: and also "to the Spirit of God in themselves," by which they might also come to know who the false prophets were.

He settled a large meeting of his persuasion at Pickering,

where he met with great convincements, among whom were Justice Robinson, the chairman of the Sessions, and Mr. Boyes, a clergyman. The latter accompanied him for several days through his own and several other parishes in the Moors, and while they were journeying together, being requested by some of his parishioners to receive what they owed him for tithes, he threw up his hands and refused them, saying, "He would none of it, thank God, he had enough without."

Stopping for the purpose of refreshment at a town in their progress, the church bells were rung, and George Fox was invited by the people into the church, but on his approach finding them all assembled in the church-yard, he chose to remain there. "It was something strange to the people," he says, "that I would not go into that which they called the house of God. But I declared to them that I came not to hold up their idol-temples, and that that piece of ground was no more holy than another piece of ground. I showed them that all who preach Christ, the word of life, ought to preach freely, as the apostles did, and as he had commanded. So I was sent of the Lord God of heaven and earth to preach freely, and to bring people off from their outward temples made with hands, which God dwelleth not in, that they might know their bodies to become the temples of God and of Christ; and to draw people off from all their superstitious ceremonies, traditions, and doctrines of men; and from all the world's hireling teachers, that take tithes and great wages, preaching for hire and divining for money, whom God and Christ never sent, as themselves confess, when they say they never heard God's voice, nor Christ's voice. Therefore, I exhorted the people to come off from all those things, and directed them to the Spirit and grace of God in themselves, and to the light of Jesus in their own hearts, that they might come to know Christ, their free Teacher, to bring them salvation, and to open the Scriptures to them. Thus the Lord gave me a good opportunity amongst them, to open things largely unto them. All was quiet, and many were convinced; blessed be the Lord."

At York, he was roughly driven out of the Minster; and at Patrington, near Hull, he met with some ill usage from a party of idle young fellows, whom he chanced to find assembled in the street, as he entered the place upon a Sunday evening, and to whom he addressed a few words of reproof. In consequence of their outrageous behaviour, hooting and pushing about, he was refused either lodging or entertainment at all the inns, and was obliged to leave the town although night had already set in. Passing on for a short distance, he found some water, refreshed himself with it, and then laid down among some furze bushes. The next morning he was pursued by a party from the town, apprehended as a vagrant, and carried before a justice nine miles off. He was an elderly man, and questioning him on the purport of his travels, ordered him to be searched, suspecting that he might be concerned in some plot against the Commonwealth; but finding nothing on his person except his change of linen, he discharged him, observing that no man, travelling at his own charge and with such good linen, could be considered as a vagabond.

This justice was so much addicted to drink, that it was not unusual for him to be intoxicated early in the morning; and George Fox, who never let an opportunity slip of reproving evil practices, spoke impressively to him on the subject, and warned him to attend the inward convictions of that light with which Christ had enlightened him, and which would discover to him all his evil words and actions. "Aye," said he, "the light that is spoken of in the third chapter of John." George Fox then gently laying his hand upon him, desired "that he would mind it and obey it, and that while he had time he would prize it." He parted with the justice very friendly, and returned to the town of Patrington, where he held a meeting, and gave so much satisfaction by his preaching, that the people expressed their sorrow for their former rude treatment, making all amends in their power by civility and attention. Their esteem was, however, tinctured with some degree of superstitious dread, for upon entering the house where he had been invited to

take up his abode, his host requested that he would either go to bed, or lie down upon one, because some notions of witchcraft were attached to his character, from a report that he never slept upon a bed, which his friend was anxious to contradict. He also held a great meeting here at the house of Colonel Overton, to which came all the principal people of the neighbourhood, who expressed themselves generally much satisfied, and some of them joined the Quakers.

Entering the town of Gainsboro', about the beginning of 1652, he found the place in an uproar, owing to a false report, which some one had spread, and engaged to prove by witnesses, that G. Fox had given himself out to be Christ. No sooner therefore was his arrival known than a tumultuous assembly was brought together, to whom he felt it his duty to clear himself of this imputation; and standing upon a table in the midst, he declared in explanation, "that Christ was in them unless they were reprobates, and that it was Christ the eternal power of God, that spoke in him at that time to them: *not that he was Christ, &c.*

The people being all satisfied with his explanation, with the exception of his accuser and his witnesses; G. Fox turned round to him, and speaking in a solemn voice, said, "that he was a Judas, and that a similar end would befall him; and that this was the word of the Lord through G. Fox to him."

The event shortly after proved the truth of the prophecy, for he hanged himself, and a stake was driven through his body. But, dead as well as living, this man was doomed to be a trouble to the Quakers, for some envious Presbyterian clergy in the neighbourhood, not only spread a report that a Quaker had hanged himself, but also printed an account of it, hoping thereby to scandalize the Society and prevent the growing diffusion of their tenets.

At Warmsworth, in Yorkshire, he found the church door locked against him, "at last," he says, "they opened the door, and as soon as I was come into the priest's sight, he left preaching, though I said nothing to him, and asked me, 'What have you to say?' and presently cried out, 'come, come, I will prove them false prophets in Matthew;' but he

was so confounded, he could not find the chapter. Then he fell on me, asking me many questions, and I stood still all this while, not saying a word. At last I said, 'Seeing here are so many questions asked, I may answer them.' " But no sooner had he spoken these words than the whole congregation, priest and all, violently drove him out of the church, beat him with staves and threw clods and stones at him. G. Fox warned them of the "terrible day of the Lord," and exhorted them "to repent, and turn to Christ." "Being filled," he says, "with the Lord's refreshing power, I was not sensible of much hurt I had received by their blows."

His journey into Yorkshire, was, upon this occasion, confined to the West-riding. At this time a furious religious zeal raged throughout the kingdom, all ranks were infested by it, ecclesiastics and lawyers, soldiers and citizens, and as the system of G. Fox admitted of no expediency of worldly policy, all the contending factions showed themselves equally averse to it. He diligently persevered, however, in his course of preaching, undaunted by the misrepresentations of one party, or by the persecutions of the other; exciting everywhere great diversities of opinion, and raising up many bitter opponents as well as gaining numbers of warm supporters: and it is remarkable, that in several instances, some of the most violent of his antagonists were led to see the errors of their counsel, and afterwards to unite themselves among his followers.

He was sorely beaten with staves, and himself and friends were stoned as they passed through the streets at Doncaster. At Tickhill, upon entering the church and finding the minister and the chief people assembled in the chancel, he addressed them in his usual strain, which raised up so sudden a storm, that all immediately fell upon him, crying out, "Let us have him out of the church," adding blows and kicks to their threats; and the clerk struck him so violently over the face with his bible that the floor was suffused with his blood

nothing daunted by their cruel treatment, he began to preach repentance to them, showing them that these malignant actions were not the fruits of Christian precepts, but on the contrary, a dishonour to Christianity, and a proof of the holowness of their pretensions. This minister and his congregation shortly afterwards passing by the Quakers' meeting, G. Fox and the Friends went out and remonstrated against their late shameful behaviour, and so pointed and searching were his words, that although they scoffed and called out "Quakers," they soon stood still and listened, and the priest himself trembled so much, that one of his party called out, "Look how the priest trembles and shakes, he has turned Quaker also."

The following day, some friendly magistrates inquired into this shameful affray, and would have punished the perpetrators, especially the clerk, who was subject to a heavy penalty for striking a man in the church. G. Fox would not appear against them, forgiving all with a truly Christian spirit.

At the house of Lieutenant Roper, near Wakefield, he was invited to preach to a large assembly of the considerable people of that part of the county, at which he says, "the scriptures were wonderfully opened, and the parables and sayings of Christ expounded. The truth had great dominion that day, so that the great men present did generally confess to it, saying, "they believed this principle must go through the whole world."

This striking feature in the ministry of G. Fox, "the inward light," although it is the fundamental principle of the gospel dispensation, (see the first chapter of John,) and is ostensibly acknowledged by all communities of Christians, yet it is neither so clearly understood, nor so generally acted upon by any people, as by the Quakers. It is, in fact, the Quaker-rule—and if we admit the scriptures to be the outward rule for faith and doctrine, and that a right and clear comprehension of their meaning is only to be obtained by and through this "inward light" and "grace"—a position, I presume, no Christian will dispute—then it follows, of course, that this "inward saving light," is the great and sure

rule for all faith and doctrine; since, not only are the inspired writings made clear to our understandings by it, but also, through its inward operations, the heart of man is made sensible of all sin, and can be led to a saving regeneration, even without any previous knowledge of scripture; an important change, which no outward religious rite or ordinance can of itself effect.

This gospel principle is so important and so universal, that it interferes in no way with sectarian differences; but belongs equally to every Christian of all denominations, however they may differ in prescribed forms and external observances: and instead of detracting from the importance of holy writ, does, on the contrary, very much enhance its value, and therefore, as it becomes better known, and more generally understood, must gradually and eventually "go through the whole world," overthrowing, in its course, the prejudices of error, and the machinations of priestcraft.

Coming to the foot of Pendle Hill, "he was moved of the Lord to go up to the top of it, and from the top of this hill, the Lord let him see in what places he had a great people gathered." It was here that he was brought into great exercise of mind, and that he conceived it to be more clearly pointed out to him where he was to turn his steps, and where he was next to proceed, and spread those doctrines, which had been already so clearly revealed to him in the vale of Bevor. Here he also had a vision of a great people, in white raiment, coming to the Lord, which proved afterwards to be near Ledburgh, at Justice Benson's, at whose house he found a large assembly of serious and inquiring Christians, who, for some time previously, had been united together. They received him joyfully, embraced his doctrines, and Justice Benson, from that time, became his warm friend and zealous supporter.

He was now more particularly watchful over himself, that, in all his actions, he might be solely guided by the Divine Spirit; keeping his mind retired to the Lord, and not daring to act upon his own will or judgment in any thing, but in all patiently waiting to be led by this "inward principle."

CHAPTER V.

1652. Continues his travels into Westmoreland—Becomes acquainted with the family of Judge Fell of Swarthmore—Controversy with several clergymen there—His ill usage at Ulverstone church and in the Isle of Walney—Appears before the sessions at Lancaster to answer a charge of blasphemy.

“But by the grace of God I am what I am: and his grace which was bestowed upon me was not in vain; but I laboured more abundantly than they all: yet not I, but the grace of God which was with me.”—1 Cor. xv. 10.

Continuing his journey through the dales of Yorkshire, he came into Westmoreland; and at Firbank-chapel, near Winandermere Lake, he appointed a meeting, to which a large concourse of persons from all the surrounding neighbourhood assembled. He requested the company to arrange themselves in the wild scenery adjoining the chapel, sitting himself upon a rock that commanded the whole assembly; but some old people thinking it a strange innovation to see a man preach upon a mountain rather than in their chapel, went into the building, and gazed at him through the windows. In the course of his sermon, which lasted for three hours, and embraced his usual topics, he took the opportunity of explaining to these old people, “that the steeple-house and ground whereon it stood, were no more holy than that mountain; and that those temples, which they called houses of God, were not set up by the command of God and Christ; nor their priests called, as Aaron’s priesthood was; nor their tithes appointed by God, as those among the Jews were; but that Christ was come, who ended both the temple and its worship, as well as priests and tithes; and all men should now hearken to Christ; for he said, ‘Learn of me,’ and God said of him, ‘This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye him.’” G. Fox further declared, “that the

Lord God had sent him to preach the everlasting gospel and word of life among them; and to bring them off from all those temples, tithes, priests, and rudiments of the world, which had got up since the apostles' days, and had been set up by such as had erred from the spirit and power that the apostles were in," &c. &c.

This congregation consisted chiefly of Independents, a great many of whom became Quakers, besides their two preachers, Francis Howgill and John Auland, who afterwards became free preachers amongst this Society. At Underbarrow, he had an interview with Edward Burrough, a religious and promising young man. He had left the Episcopal church, for which he had been educated as minister, and had joined the Presbyterians, with whom he was a preacher of great account. He was much struck with the doctrine of G. Fox, the first time he heard him preach, and after several discussions with him, at length adopted his views, gave up his appointment with the Presbyterians, and joined the Quakers, and by this step incurred the great displeasure of his parents and friends. He afterwards became one of their most active and zealous members, and, by his labours, distinguished himself, both as a great writer, and as a powerful and awakening preacher.

The labours of G. Fox in this part of the county of Westmoreland, and in the borders of Cumberland and Lancashire, were most encouraging. His doctrine spread every where with surprising rapidity, and from his powerful preaching, each succeeding day saw an accumulation of eager listeners, drawn from the sober and serious-minded of all ranks in society; numbers of whom cordially embraced his opinions, and united themselves to the new persuasion of Friends, or Quakers, as they were now universally called by the world at large, in derision.

In Lancashire, he became acquainted with the family of Judge Fell of Swarthmore, in the parish of Ulverstone. The inmates of this place appear to have been a serious and inquiring people, for their house was a great resort for religious people, who often met there for the purpose of serious dis-

cussions. George Fox, upon his first arrival, found both Judge Fell and his wife from home. He was gone into Wales upon his professional duties, and his wife was absent in the neighbourhood and did not return till night. Before her return, he engaged in conversation with Mr. Lampitt, the clergyman of Ulverstone, which soon fell into a dispute, and ended in a mutual disagreement; for G. Fox perceiving the insincerity of this priest's professions, boldly exposed them.

The children informing Margaret Fell of this disagreement, upon her return, she was much disconcerted, because she greatly esteemed Lampitt, who was a man of great professions, and of a persuasive tongue; and had been a constant and welcome guest at Swarthmore. G. Fox then had a long discourse with her, explaining his views; and the next day being a public fast, she invited him to accompany herself and family to church. He replied, "I must do as I am ordered by the Lord," upon which he left her, and walked into the fields; and the word of the Lord came to him there, saying, "Go to the steeple-house after them." Upon entrance, he found the congregation engaged in singing, and waiting till they had done, he stepped up upon a form and requested permission to speak, which being granted, he said, "He is not a Jew that is one outwardly; neither is that circumcision which is outward: but he is a Jew that is one inwardly; and that circumcision which is of the heart." He then went on to state his great principle, "that Christ was the light of the world, and enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world, and that by this light they might be gathered to God;" inferring that the mere outward profession of Christianity, without a corresponding reformation of the heart, was of no avail. Margaret Fell was so astonished at this doctrine, that she stood up in her pew, having never before heard advanced by any preacher, that this "inward light," or grace of God, if attended to, would surely reveal the will of God in the heart, and that by obedience to his will alone, this spiritual circumcision could be effected in it. G. Fox went on, and said, "The scriptures are the prophets' words, and Christ's

and the apostles' words; and what they spoke, they enjoyed and possessed, and had it from the Lord. What have any to do with the scriptures, if they come not to the Spirit that gave them forth? You will say, Christ saith this, and the apostles say this; but what canst thou, O man, say thyself concerning this? Art thou a child of the light; dost thou walk in it; and what thou speakest, is it inwardly from God? God is come to teach his people himself by his Spirit, and to bring them off from their outward forms and ways of worship." Margaret Fell was now so much affected that she resealed herself, and bursting into a flood of tears, mentally cried out in her anguish, "We are all thieves! we are all thieves! we have taken the scriptures in words, and know nothing of them in ourselves." G. Fox then began to denounce the false prophets in his usual strain, stating that they preached the words of the scriptures, being themselves out of the life and spirit which those were in who gave them forth. At this juncture, Justice Sawrey rose up and ordered the constable to "take him away." Margaret Fell rising at the same time, said to the officer, "Let him alone; why may he not speak as well as any other?" The clergyman seeing how much she was interested, and wishing to oblige her, also said, "Let him speak." George Fox then continued his address for some time; but was at last taken out of the church by the constable, by order of Justice Sawrey, and many people following him out, he continued to preach to them in the church-yard.

The same evening, he returned to Judge Fell's, and having assembled the whole household, including servants, he so clearly expounded his doctrine and views of the gospel, as to work a full "convincement" in their minds. Margaret Fell was brought into great trouble, because so remarkable and important change had taken place in the family during her husband's absence; not knowing in what light he might view it, or how far he would approve of their doings.

Upon the Sunday afternoon after this occurrence, he went to Ramside chapel, the incumbent of which, Thomas Lawson, was a clergyman of great reputation, who having received

notice of his intention to come, had given out at the morning service, that G. Fox would preach there in the afternoon. In consequence of which notice, the chapel was crowded; and upon his arrival, seeing no place more convenient for his purpose, he went into the chapel, where the clergyman vacated his pulpit and dispensed with the usual service, so great was the desire of all to hear him. His address on this occasion made so deep an impression upon his audience, that not only numbers united themselves to his followers, but the clergyman himself, shortly after, gave up his living, and became a free preacher of the gospel among the Quakers.

Upon Judge Fell's return to Swarthmore, G. Fox had an interview with him, in which he so fully answered all the judge's objections, and so clearly explained his doctrine, proving every thing from the scriptures, that Judge Fell was quite satisfied; and although he never openly conformed to all the notions of the Quakers, yet he was so fully convinced of the sincerity of their professions, that he ever remained friendly to them, and the first meeting of the new Society, established in this part of the country, was held, by his permission, in the Hall, at Swarthmore, where it continued to be regularly held for nearly forty years, until a meeting-house was erected in 1690. His wife and children and the rest of the household, however, all joined the Quakers.

Swarthmore thus became a sort of head-quarters for G. Fox and the leading men of the newly-formed Society in that part of the country, from which he often made excursions for the purpose of spreading his doctrine and establishing meetings. In some few instances, he met with violent opposition, accompanied with ill treatment; but even where the greatest obstacles presented themselves, some hearts were touched by his powerful appeals to religion and virtue, and fresh converts were added, at almost every spot, during the progress of these journeyings.

His fame spreading with his doctrines, and his company being much sought after, caused so great an influx of visitors at Swarthmore, that the judge coming home one day with his servants, and finding his shed filled with the horses of

strange guests, (they having been removed from the stables into this shed, by his wife's orders, to make room for her husband's cattle,) complained to her of this great accession of comers, observing, that in this way they would soon be eaten out, and have no provender left for their own use. To this she pleasantly replied, that charity doth not impoverish, and that notwithstanding all this extra consumption, she fully believed that when the year was at an end, they would have no cause to regret their hospitality. And so it proved, for this same year, their stock of hay was so abundant that they not only had plenty for themselves, but a large surplus to sell.

He now found himself acting in conjunction with many powerful coadjutors, men of respectability and education, who proved themselves eminent ministers of the new persuasion, giving influence to it by their station in society, and by their known integrity of life. Among them, were Leonard Fell of Becliff, a brother of the judge; Thomas Lawson of Ramside, clergyman; Thomas Taylor, clergyman, and his brother Christopher Taylor; John Camm of Camsgill, of an ancient family of Westmoreland; besides John Auland, Francis Howgil, Edward Burrough, Richard Hubberthorn, and many others.

At Lancaster he was moved to speak to a body of the Parliamentary forces in the open street, where he declared to them, "that all the traditions they had lived in, all their worships and religions, and the professions they made of the scriptures, were good for nothing, while they lived out of the life and power, which those men were in who gave forth the scriptures." He directed them "to the Light of Christ, the heavenly man, and to the Spirit of God in their own hearts, that they might come to be acquainted with God and Christ, to receive him for their Teacher, and know his kingdom set up in them." He also, upon this occasion, preached through the market, warning all to be just and true in their dealings, and to repent of their evil ways: and going from thence into one of the churches, he says, that while he was there, "a doctor came in so full of envy that, he said, 'he

could find it in his heart to run him through with his rapier, though he should be hanged for it the next day.' ” Yet this man's fierceness was soon afterwards so softened by the gentle demeanour of the “Friends,” that he carried himself very friendly towards them.

Returning from Lancaster to Swarthmore, he argued with four or five priests who had come to Judge Fell's to dispute with him. Here he maintained that the inward vocation of the Holy Spirit was the only true qualification for a preacher of the gospel, and that without this spiritual guidance, no human wisdom or learning could be relied upon. He asked them, “whether any of them could say, that he had ever received the word of the Lord to go and speak to such and such a people.” None of them could acknowledge that he ever had, but one of them answered with some temper, “that he could speak of his experiences as well as George Fox.” Whereupon he told him, “experience was one thing; but to receive and go with a message, and to have a word from the Lord as the prophets and apostles had, and as he had to them, was another thing.” He therefore again put the question, “Could any one of them say, he ever had a command or word from the Lord immediately at any time? Because the false prophets, false apostles, and antichrists, could use the words of the true prophets, true apostles, and of Christ, and could speak of other men's experiences, though themselves never knew nor heard the voice of God and Christ.”

Here it would be as well to remark upon another important feature of the Quaker tenets, one which allows of no ministration of the gospel that does not proceed from immediate inspiration, that is, either from a direct call from God, or else from a motion arising from the immediate influence of the Holy Spirit: and the preachers of this Society all profess to be actuated by this principle alone.

They protest equally against a self-elected ministry, as against a paid one. With them there is no such thing as a young man's choosing the profession of a minister; nor do they consider any peculiar education necessary to qualify for it: and as their principles admit of no pecuniary recom-

pense, the office holds out no alluring baits of rich benefices or spiritual dignities, which are, and always will be, powerful motives to the worldly-minded to enter this sacred profession. Their ministers mostly arise among the serious and pious young people of both sexes, who, by leading a holy life, by "transforming" themselves from the world and its vanities, and by keeping their minds retired to their divine and inward Teacher, prepare themselves to receive and nourish the good seed, which in due time brings forth its fruit.

Thus we see, that this people differ from nearly the whole Christian world with respect to the office of minister, upon five very striking points.

1st, The inexpediency and insufficiency of a learned education to qualify for the office. 2d, The prohibition of any self-election to it, as a profession. 3d, The disallowance of any pecuniary remuneration when elected. 4th, The sanction of their women to participate in its duties equally with the men. 5th, That their addresses, whether in form of prayer or sermon, are never premeditated; but profess to be spontaneously given from the immediate influence of the Spirit. A principle, by which no other class of ministers profess to be entirely regulated, and the truth of which principle, if the deduction may be allowed, is tacitly acknowledged by the world; for upon notice being given of the intention of any of their ministers to hold a public meeting, to which the inhabitants are invited, it is a common occurrence for it to be fully attended by those of other persuasions.

Luther says upon consecration, "All Christians belong to the spiritual estate, and the only difference among them is that of the functions which they discharge. We have all one faith, one baptism, and it is this that constitutes the spiritual man. Uncction, the tonsure, ordination, consecration by the pope or a bishop, may make a hypocrite, but never can make a spiritual man." *

"The rise of the plebeian sects which swarmed in England,

was encouraged by the freedom of the popular government under the Commonwealth." * And owing to this circumstance, the sacred office of minister was often filled by the ignorant pretenders from the lower ranks of life, who, puffed up with conceit and crude opinions, spread abroad the most extravagant notions, and in many instances, advanced doctrines at variance with Christianity and the gospel. As, for instance, "that the gospel was mortal,"—that the Inward Light or Grace of God "was not a spiritual light, but a made or created light,"—"that moral evil was no sin,"—with many others equally presumptuous.

The early Quakers were preserved from all these errors by their fundamental principle of the "Inner Light," although many of their preachers were drawn from similar ranks. To this principle they referred every thing in this life, and dared to do nothing in opposition to it. Under its influence alone they studied the holy writings; by it they preached to all people, that by watchfulness in following its inward monitions, we are led from sin to salvation through Christ, the converse of which, by withstanding the day of our visitation, leads to reprobation. No churchman can deny this to be the great principle of Christianity; for its spirit breathes in purity throughout the whole liturgy. Thus far the churchman and the Quaker accord; but the former insists upon something more—the importance of his outward rites and observances, yet at the same time confesses, that these "outward and visible signs" are unavailing without the "inward and spiritual grace."

The Quaker rejects the outward signs, and embraces the inward grace;—to him the "Inward Light" is every thing. Even the outward mark of water-baptism, thought to be so necessary by all other Christians, he rejects; assured in his own mind that the *one baptism* of Christ, so needful for all, is of a spiritual nature, and is a baptism of fire and not of water, see Luke iii. 16. That the mind once awakened to religious impressions, is soon brought into trouble and an-

* Bancroft's United States, vol. ii. p. 190.

guish by those two conflicting principles, the love of God, and the love of the world; and thus experimentally proves what this spiritual baptism is.

“Every Protestant refused the rosary and censer; the Quaker rejects common prayer, and his adoration of God is the free language of the soul.”* An inconsiderate assertion—the Quaker does not reject common prayer: ’tis true, he rejects all the forms of common prayer adopted by other Christians; but he believes, that in an assembly of pious people, meeting together in solemn silence to worship God in spirit and in truth, and where they become as it were “of one heart and of one soul,” (Acts iv. 32,) that this, in its fullest sense, is common prayer.

No sooner were regular meetings established in this part of the kingdom, than the Quakers were accused by their opponents of forsaking the temple and going to “Jeroboam’s Calves’ Houses.” G. Fox told them, “that these churches, even the old mass-houses, were more like Jeroboam’s Calves’ Houses, being set up in the darkness of popery, which they who called themselves Protestants, and professed to be more enlightened than the Papists, did still hold up, although God had never named them temples; whereas that the temple which God had commanded at Jerusalem, Christ came to end the service of; and those who received him and believed in him, their bodies came to be the temples of God, of Christ, and of the Holy Ghost, to dwell in them, and walk in them. Such were gathered into the name of Jesus, whose name is above every name, and there is no salvation by any other name under the whole heaven, but by the name of Jesus. And they that were thus gathered” in the apostles’ days, “met together in dwelling-houses, which were not called the temple nor the church; but their bodies were the temples of God, and the believers were the *Church*, of which Christ was the head.”

Swarthmore is in the parish of Ulverstone, and as we have already stated, the clergyman, Lampitt, in conjunction with

* Bancroft’s United States, vol. ii. p. 346.

Justice Sawrey, became formidable opponents to G. Fox and his followers, and in the end, cruel persecutors of them. Lampitt was mortified, that G. Fox had entirely dispossessed him of the family at Swarthmore, who, previously to his coming, had been his most constant admirers. Lampitt appears to have been a man of some talent, but vain and conceited, or as G. Fox says, "a high notionist;" the fallacy of whose notions, he had so fully proved in their several theological disputes, that the more serious and better part of his congregation left him to join the Quakers.

It was Lampitt who had called the Quakers, the followers of Jeroboam, the son of Nebat. And it was through the instigation of Lampitt and Sawrey, that G. Fox and many other Friends were most cruelly abused at Ulverstone church, and by them the rude rabble were set on to drive the Quakers out of the church, haling them with great violence, and beating them with stones, hedge-stakes, and holly bushes. G. Fox was so stunned by his blows, that he laid for some time prostrate and senseless. Recovering, and finding himself stretched upon a wet common, with a mob of rude people standing around him, he remained motionless for a few minutes, till "feeling the power of the Lord to spring through him, he rose up again in the strengthening power of the Eternal God;" and stretching out his arms, he called out with a loud voice, "strike again, here are my arms, my head, and my cheek!" Upon these words, a brutal mason struck him so violently over his hand with a rule, while it was extended, that the whole arm was completely stunned and powerless, and several of the by-standers exclaimed, "he has spoilt his hand for life." "But standing still in love, he felt the renewing power of the Lord to spring through him again;" so that his hand and arm were instantly strengthened, and restored in the sight of all the people.

Returning to Swarthmore, he found his friend's house converted into a temporary hospital, so general had been the assault, and all the inmates busily employed in dressing the wounds and bruises of the sufferers. Five days after this, going with several others to the island of Walney, he was

set upon by the enraged inhabitants, who attacked him while landing, with missiles, staves, and long fishing poles. He was beaten so severely that he was driven back to his boat and obliged to lie down in it, while his companions got her off from this hostile shore. The cause of this outrage was ascribed to the wife of one James Lancaster, who having been converted by G. Fox, she became so incensed at this conversion of her husband, that she would have gladly killed G. Fox, and for this purpose stirred up her neighbours to assist her. But very soon after this occurrence, she was herself converted, and lived and died a Quaker. But alas! G. Fox and his companions soon discovered, that in avoiding Charybdis, they had run upon Scylla: for upon their landing upon the mainland, the whole party were beset by a fierce mob, who fell upon them with pitch-forks and stones, and G. Fox suffered so severely upon these two assaults, that his friends had much difficulty to convey him safely to Swarthmore. All these affrays happened during the absence of Judge Fell; but as soon as he returned home, he issued warrants for the apprehension of some of the ringleaders, upon which they fled from their homes. Nothing, however, would induce G. Fox either to prosecute, or give any information against his assailants, saying, "they could not do otherwise in the spirit they were in."

His enemies now tried a fresh scheme: Justice Sawrey and Justice Thompson issued a warrant for his apprehension on a charge of blasphemy; but in consequence of his being an inmate at Judge Fell's, it was never served. Nevertheless, he voluntarily went over to the Sessions and surrendered himself, in order to confront his accusers, and clear himself from the charge. In their way over to the Lancaster Sessions, Judge Fell expressed himself quite at a loss how to act in his case, never having had a similar matter brought under his consideration. G. Fox told him, "When Paul was brought before the rulers, he stood still all that while, till they had done; and when they had done, Felix, the governor, beckoned to him to speak for himself. And thou mayst do so by me."

At the Sessions, he found forty clergymen arrayed against him, who had chosen Marshall, one of their own body, to be their speaker; their witnesses were a "young priest," and two lads, the sons of a clergyman. Their charge was, that at a certain meeting, he had asserted, "that God taught deceit, and that the scriptures contained but a parcel of lies." Their witnesses, however, were so confused in their evidence, and contradicted one another and themselves so much upon a cross examination, that one of them being unwilling to give a direct answer to a question put in point of evidence, said, "the other could say it"—upon which the bench observed, "have you sworn to it, and do you now say the other can say it? It seems you did not hear these words spoken yourself, although you have given it upon oath." On the other side it was proved that one of these lads had declared, "that if he had power, he would make G. Fox deny his profession, and that he would take away his life." Their chief witness also at last confessed that he should not have appeared in this affair, had he not been instigated thereto by another priest, who persuaded him to undertake it. Several men of reputation now deposed, that no such words as those sworn against G. Fox, had been spoken by him at the meeting: for most of the respectable and serious men of that side of the county, who were also in court, had been there at the time when the alleged blasphemy was said to have been uttered. Colonel West then addressing G. Fox, told him, if he had any thing to say to the people, he might freely declare it. As soon as he began to speak, Marshall, the priests' orator, left the court; he then declared in explanation, "that the holy scriptures were given forth by the Spirit of God; and that all people must first come to the Spirit of God in themselves, by which they might know God and Christ, of whom the prophets and apostles learnt, and also know the holy scriptures. For as the Spirit of God was in them that gave forth the scriptures; so the same Spirit of God must also be in those that come to know and understand the scriptures; by which Spirit they might have fellowship with the Father, and with the Son, and with one another: and that without that Spirit, they

could neither know God, nor Christ, nor the scriptures, nor have right fellowship with one another."

No sooner had he finished these words, than six or seven of his accusers cried out simultaneously, "that the Spirit and the letter were inseparable." G. Fox replied, "then every one that hath the letter, hath the Spirit; and they might buy the Spirit with the letter of the scripture." To which remark Judge Fell and Colonel West added, that according to that position, they might carry the Spirit in their pockets, as they did the scriptures. The bench perceiving that the imputation had originated altogether in envy, and that his accusers had entirely failed in establishing a case, discharged him. Judge Fell then told the Justices, Sawrey and Thompson, that by issuing this warrant against G. Fox, they were tacitly sanctioning the disgraceful riots which had so lately taken place in the isle of Walney and at other places; therefore he and Colonel West granted a supersedeas to stop the execution of the said warrant.

The affair, however, did not rest here; for his adversaries renewed their charge again at the assizes; having first poisoned the mind of Judge Windham by their false representations, both of the principles and of their promulgator, that he, looking upon him as an obnoxious character, made a speech upon opening of the court against the whole sect, and ordered Colonel West, who was clerk of the assize, to issue a warrant for his immediate apprehension; and when the latter ventured a remonstrance in behalf of the innocence of G. Fox, the judge said, "if he did not choose to issue the warrant, he must give up his seat in that court." Upon which Colonel West boldly declared, "that he would not do any thing he considered so unjust, but that he would rather offer up his whole estate, as well as his body, for him." The judge most likely conceiving from this reply, that party feeling ran very high, deemed it most prudent to let the matter drop; and thus ended this false accusation.

The remainder of this year was spent at Swarthmore and the neighbourhood, and during his intervals of leisure, he wrote many long epistles of exhortation to the clergy, to justices, and to private individuals.

CHAPTER VI.

1653—Travels in the northern counties—His prophecy respecting the Long Parliament—Imprisoned at Carlisle—Curious prediction about the Quakers.

“For our rejoicing is this, the testimony of our conscience, that in simplicity and godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God, we have had our conversation in the world.”—2 Cor. i. 12.

“Is any among you afflicted? let him pray. Is any merry? let him sing psalms.”—James v. 13.

In the year 1653, G. Fox’s attention was principally directed to the northern counties of Westmoreland, Cumberland, Durham, and Northumberland; travelling about and embracing every opportunity of holding religious meetings; exhorting people at markets and fairs, and at all places, and on all occasions where he found them assembled; calling all to repentance; expounding the parables of our Saviour and the doctrine of the Inward Light; and warning all against any reliance upon outward forms and empty professions of religion, which of themselves can afford neither solid comfort, nor peace of mind.

In these journeys, he was thrown much among Baptists, Presbyterians and Independents, all of whom were struggling with one another for mastery, during the wild commotions of these unsettled times; and their preachers were more hostile and more rancorous towards all opposing tenets, than the clergy of the national church had ever been. The two most powerful sects, the Presbyterians and Independents, had already begun to partake of the good things belonging to the Establishment, and naturally felt their appetites whetted for more, each party was extremely tenacious of securing for itself as much of its powers and emoluments as it could obtain, and was as jealous of all new doctrines,

as it was fierce and hot in the persecution of their supporters. Thus the Quakers, by their instigation, were overwhelmed with buffetings, revilings, fines, and imprisonments; and yet in spite of all these persecutions, their opinions spread rapidly, and every where gained supporters, and large meetings of Friends were settled at various places, some of which remain to this day.

It is a sad reflection, that religious controversies, beyond all others, engender the greatest ill-will and bitterness of spirit. Had all parties divested religion of her temporalities, the same as we see the Quakers did, they would have no doubt destroyed one powerful motive to this kind of disputation. For as every church advanced dogmas, which its prelates were expected strenuously to support; so it naturally followed, that they should be prejudiced in favour of their own tenets, and shut up against the convictions of truth; because of the natural bias of the mind to favour that system, upon which its livelihood and expectations in a measure depend, besides its proneness to value, above all others, the opinions in which it has been educated. On the other hand, the same period affords many instances, where a mistaken religious zeal upon some point of doctrine, was itself a cause of great acrimony; and bad feelings were thus engendered, which might never have existed, had each Christian pastor been as sincerely zealous in elucidating the everlasting truth of the gospel, as he had been in enforcing his own particular notions of it.

D'Aubigné says, "the passions, never more imperious than in religious controversies, overleap all forms of justice; and this not only in the Roman church, but in those Protestant Churches, also, which have declined from the gospel, and in short, wherever the truth has disappeared."*

The Quakers conceived themselves called upon to bear testimony against tithes and a paid clergy; the first, as being ended by our Saviour's personal appearance; for the old Mosaic law, of which they formed a part, was both fulfilled

* Reformation, vol. i. book iv. chap. ii. p. 110.

and ended by his sacrifice. The second, as being contrary to his particular injunctions, when he sent forth his disciples to preach the gospel. From hence they were stigmatized by the clergy and other opponents as the false prophets who were to come in the latter days. Which charge, in their own defence, they retorted upon their accusers; proving out of the gospel, that those false prophets were such as preached its glad tidings for hire; and who spoke of spiritual things, being themselves out of the spirit in which the gospel was written: an imputation which many of the clergy by their evil lives and unchristian conduct established.

G. Fox informs us, that he had "great openings from the Lord," not only of spiritual, but also of temporal matters; and in the beginning of this year, while he was yet at Swarthmore, and was walking in the hall there, his friends, Judge Fell and Justice Benson, chancing to be conversing upon the important political events then in agitation, and also of the doings of the Long Parliament, he says, "he was moved in spirit" to tell them, "that before that day two weeks the Long Parliament would be broken up, and the speaker plucked out of his chair." This prediction was literally fulfilled; for on that day two weeks, the news arrived at Swarthmore, that Oliver Cromwell had broken up the parliament, had dismissed the members, and had himself assumed the absolute sway. And the speaker of the house being unwilling to give up his authority, declared he would not leave the chair unless he were forced. Upon which General Harrison said, "Sir, I will lend you my hand;" and thereupon taking him by the hand, the speaker came down out of the chair.

"About this time," he says, "I was in a fast for about ten days, my spirit being greatly exercised on Truth's behalf; for James Milner and Richard Myer, went out into imaginations, and a company followed them," but they were soon led to see their error, and to condemn it, "and to come into the way of truth again." Soon afterwards, he was at a meeting at Arn-side, at which the same R. Myer was present, who had long been lame of one arm. "He was moved of the Lord to say unto him, amongst all the people, 'Stand up upon

thy legs:’ and he stood up, and stretched out his arm that had been lame a long time, and said, ‘Be it known unto you, all people, that this day I am healed.’ Yet his parents could hardly believe it; but after the meeting was done, they had him aside, took off his doublet, and then saw that it was true. He came soon after to Swarthmore meeting, and declared how that the Lord had healed him. Yet after this, the Lord commanded him to go to York with a message from him, but he disobeyed the Lord; and the Lord struck him again, so that he died about three-quarters of a year after.”

In the neighbourhood of Cockermouth, he held several meetings, in various churches, where the clergymen were friendly disposed; but others denied him any accommodation in their parishes, spoke against his tenets, and forbade their parishioners to listen to him. Being much pressed by the clergyman at Bingham to go into the church, for he generally preferred the open air, or the spreading branches of some great tree, he followed the people in, and soon after they were settled in silence, he stood up on a seat. “The Lord opened his mouth, and he declared his everlasting truth, and the word of life to the people, directing them to the Spirit of God in themselves, by which they might know God and Christ. And if they came to walk in his Light, they might therein see Christ to be the author of their faith, and the finisher thereof; their Shepherd to feed them, their Priest to teach them, their Prophet to open divine mysteries unto them, and to be always present with them. He explained also to them, in the openings of the Lord, the first Covenant, showing them the figures, and the substance of those figures, bringing them down to Christ the new covenant. He also manifested to them, that there had been a night of apostacy since the apostles’ days; but that now the everlasting gospel was preached again, which brought life and immortality to light, and the day of the Lord was come, and Christ was come to teach his people himself by his light, grace, power and Spirit.”

“The Lord,” he says, “had given him a spirit of discerning, by which he could often see the inward states and con-

ditions of people, and could try their spirits." And thus, being seated in a private dwelling, where he had been addressing a large assembly, he suddenly perceived a woman there to be "under the influence of an unclean spirit," and speaking "sharply to her," she got up and left the company, all of whom expressed themselves astonished, because he had discovered her character, although a stranger to him. "Not long before, as he was going to a meeting, he saw some women in a field, and discerned an evil spirit in them; and he was moved to go out of his way into the field to them, to declare unto them their conditions." Upon another occasion, casting his eyes upon a woman, he said to her, "Thou hast been a harlot," for he perfectly perceived the condition and life of the woman. He then told her, "her heart was not right before the Lord, and that from the inward came the outward. This woman came afterwards to be convinced of God's truth, and became a Friend."

At Carlisle, he held a large meeting in the Abbey, where the pastor of the Baptists and his flock came to hear him. "After the meeting, the pastor, a high notionist, and a flashy man, came to him, and asked him, 'What must be damned?' He was moved immediately to tell him, 'that which spoke in him was to be damned.' This stopped the pastor's mouth, and the witness of God was raised up in him. He also came afterwards to be convinced."

He then went up to the castle, was cordially received by the soldiers, and the garrison was assembled by beat of drum to hear him. After expounding his chief doctrines and directing them to the light of Christ, "he warned them all, that they should do no violence to any man, but should show forth a Christian life; for *he* who was to be their Teacher, would be their condemner, if they were disobedient to him."

His next concern was to preach at the Market Cross: the magistrates threatened to prevent him by their officers; and their wives declared, that they would tear the hair off his head, if he dared to attempt it. Upon the market-day, he repaired to the Cross, attended by a great concourse, whither these women also came and abused him with much scurrility,

because he was so surrounded by the people and soldiers, that they could not carry their threat into execution. G. Fox wore his hair long and flowing over his shoulders; and in one part of his journal, he states, "he was not to cut it," intimating that in so doing he was obeying some internal command. The Presbyterians and Independents were all crops, and thought much of this badge of sanctity; and G. Fox by wearing his hair unshorn, was a sign to them that true religion does not consist in a tonsure, or any other outward mark. His long hair, upon several other occasions, proved a matter of grave offence to the rigid and high-professing round-heads, and in the above instance, no doubt, was the irritating cause that roused into action the republican feelings of the magistrates' wives. After he had finished his address, many flocked around him, "and some Baptists, that were bitter contenders; among whom, one of their deacons, being an envious man and finding the Lord's power was over them, cried out for very anger." "Whereupon," he says, "I set my eyes upon him, and spoke sharply to him in the power of the Lord; and he cried, 'do not pierce me so with thy eyes; keep thy eyes off me.'"

The following Sunday, he was moved to attend the High Church, and after the service was ended, he stood up and preached to the people; upon which the minister left the church, and one of the magistrates ordered him to depart, he told him in reply, "that he came to speak the word of life and salvation from the Lord amongst them." He then continued to address them in so powerful and impressive a manner, "that the people trembled and shook:" many thought that the "church itself shook:" and some that it would have fallen down upon their heads. The same magistrates' wives also conducted themselves very violently, "and strove mightily to be at him," but were prevented by the press of people. A mob of rabble, incited thereto by the priest and magistrates, now broke up the assembly by creating a riot, and G. Fox retired under the escort of the soldiers, who took him by the hand and led him away, protecting him from the mob.

The next morning he was summoned before the magistrates, to whom he gave further offence by declaring to them that the "fruits of their priest's preaching were void of Christianity, and that though they were great professors, they were without the possession of that which they professed." He was upon this committed to jail as a "heretic, a blasphemer, and a seducer;" and by order of the magistrates, he was shut up among the lowest class of felons, and the jailers were encouraged to treat him with the greatest brutality, declaring to him that he should never come out again, but to be hanged; and so confident were his enemies in accomplishing his ruin and death, that numbers visited him in prison as a condemned person who was shortly to be executed.

The persecutions of the Quakers during the commonwealth arose from all the sects, but more especially from the self-denying, over-righteous Presbyterians, who had themselves been sufferers under the milder yoke of the Episcopalians; but now being in power, and striving with the Independents for a spiritual supremacy, they were determined to tolerate no doctrine but their own, and to silence all others by force.

At Carlisle, he suffered an illegal imprisonment for several months, and at the approaching assizes his enemies made sure of leading him to the gallows; but not being able to substantiate any legal charge against him, he was never brought up for trial. The high sheriff and a company of "bitter Scotch priests" were so misled by their rancorous feelings, that they had him guarded by three musketeers to shoot him upon any pretence of escape. For a time they would suffer no one to have access to him excepting themselves: they sometimes came into his cell as late as the tenth hour, and their deportment was "exceedingly rude and devilish: they were not fit to speak of the things of God, they were so foul-mouthed, and he grieved to think such people should call themselves ministers of God; but the Lord by his power gave him dominion over them all, and let them see both their fruits and their spirits." During this confinement, he was often cruelly beaten with a large cudgel, at the caprice of the under jailer; who entering his cell, one day, fell upon him,

without the shadow of an excuse for such abominable cruelty, and beat him most furiously, calling out all the time, as a pretext, "Come out of the window," although G. Fox was on the opposite side of the room to it. While he was so beaten, "he was moved of the Lord to sing psalms, being filled with joy;" upon which the exasperated jailer brought in a fiddler to annoy him; but while he played, G. Fox so overpowered him by his singing, "being moved by the everlasting power of the Lord God," that they were "struck and confounded," and went away; leaving him to the unmolested enjoyment of his heart-felt hymns of praise, and rejoicing that he was thus found worthy to suffer for the sake of his great Lord and Master, whose precepts he had thus far boldly and faithfully declared, without respect of persons. "Blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake. Rejoice, and be exceeding glad: for great is your reward in heaven."—Matt. v. 11, 12.

In this prison, he became acquainted with James Parnell, a youth of only sixteen years, but remarkable for his early piety and religious life: he had been so struck with G. Fox's preaching and doctrine, that he frequently visited him while in bonds, eagerly seeking instruction; and "the Lord quickly made him a powerful minister of the word of life, and many were turned to Christ by him." Travelling soon afterwards into Essex as an acknowledged minister of the Quakers, he was imprisoned with many others, in Colchester Castle, and subjected to the cruelty of a merciless jailer, who was encouraged in his brutality by the magistrates themselves. At this time, James Parnell was extremely debilitated by severe indisposition, and was confined in a place called the oven, a large hole in the wall, and so high from the ground, that it was only accessible by a short ladder and a rope, because the ladder was not sufficiently long. From this place, he was constrained by the jailer to come down every day for his food, refusing him the advantage or any assistance which his fellow-prisoners would gladly have rendered him. Climbing up one day to this incommodious dormitory, with his day's

provisions in one hand, he missed his hold of the rope through weakness, and falling down, was so much shaken, that he died very soon afterwards in consequence of his fall. After his death, his persecutors, "to cover their own cruelty, wrote a book, stating, "that he fasted himself to death." Thus he died a martyr to his religious convictions about two years after he had joined the Quakers.

Notwithstanding the severity and closeness of George Fox's imprisonment, he managed to send forth a strong remonstrance against the proceedings of the magistrates; and another paper, challenging all those who had any objections to allege against his doctrine, to a public refutation, and he would undertake to defend it by scripture proof. He was not without active friends also without the walls of the castle; for Justice Benson and Justice Pearson wrote to the judges in his defence, and made no small stir about the shameful manner in which he was treated. The latter person, after much difficulty, succeeded in obtaining permission to visit him, in company with the governor of the castle, who upon seeing the filthy place in which he was confined (shut up with moss-troopers, thieves, and felons) and upon hearing of the ill-treatment of his keepers, cried, "Shame upon the conduct of the justices of Carlisle." He summoned all the jailers to appear, made them all enter into sureties for their future good behaviour, and the one whose conduct had been so outrageous, he ordered to be shut up in the same foul dungeon, and that G. Fox should be better accommodated.

During his confinement with those unfortunate and depraved characters, of both sexes, his sincere piety and kindly feeling, united to his good example, had a great effect upon the minds of his wretched companions: they treated him with respect, and several of them became sincere and true penitents, so powerfully and so feelingly had he laid open to them the profligacy of their evil courses.

The affair of his illegal imprisonment gaining publicity, created so much sensation, that a report of the case was brought before Cromwell's first parliament, which at this time sat for a brief six months. The committing magistrates,

therefore, apprehending they might be called to account by the parliament, for their unconstitutional proceedings, since it clearly appeared that they had neither grounds for a trial nor any charge for which they could justly detain him, turned him out of prison without either form or examination.

No sooner was he released from durance at Carlisle, than he recommenced his usual labours of attending churches, markets, fairs, and other concourses of men, losing no opportunity of spreading his doctrine, or of occupying with his talent. And passing in this way through the counties of Durham and Northumberland, he returned once more to Swarthmore, about the end of the year. At several places, upon this northern journey, in consequence of his maintaining that the holy scriptures were the *words*, and not the *word*, of God, as they were more generally called, he was more than once mistakenly charged with having denied the scriptures, and in consequence was led into many disputes, with a variety of ministers, upon the propriety of a term, he considered alone applicable to Christ or his power. In this controversy, both parties unquestionably meant the same thing, although they employed different expressions to designate it: and notwithstanding that the nice distinction of the terms made by G. Fox in these instances is perfectly consonant with the gospel of St. John, still the dispute seems to have partaken more of the nature of a quibble about a distinction, than of any more solid objection.

A report was at this time widely circulated, and which for the moment seemed to gain credence with their enemies, "that the Quakers would soon come to an end, because they would eat up one another," and it was published by Lampitt and his party, that this downfall would take place before the expiration of another year. The report arose from the circumstance of their always resorting to the houses of their own persuasion, upon all occasions of their travelling; a practice originating from a feeling of Christian hospitality, and afterwards generally adopted by them on account of the abuse and insults, to which their singularities subjected them, from the ill-bred frequenters of most houses of public entertain-

ment. Another circumstance also operated against them at first, that as they would neither bow the knee, nor "scrape the leg," nor pull off the hat to any one, nor use the plural pronoun in addressing a single person, they gave so much offence to their superiors and equals, that those who were in any sort of trade, lost many of their profitable customers. In process of time, however, as their principles became better known, and as people found that their honesty and integrity in all their dealings might be always relied upon, the case took an opposite turn: and then every one was inquiring for a Quaker draper, or shoemaker, &c., &c.; so that the cry then began to be raised against them, "that if we let these Quakers alone, they will soon get all the trade into their own hands." Upon this, G. Fox observes, "this hath been the Lord's doing for his people, and my desire is, that all who profess his holy truth, may be kept sensible thereof, that all may be preserved in and by the power of his Spirit, faithful to God, and faithful to man; first to God, in obeying Him in all things, and then in doing unto all men that which is just and righteous in all things that they have to do with them."

The following letter was addressed to the inhabitants of the parish of Ulverstone, soon after his appearance in this part of the kingdom: .

"Consider, O people! who are within the parish of Ulverstone; I was moved of the Lord to come into your public places to speak among you, being sent of God to direct your minds to him, that you might know where you might find your Teacher; that your minds might be staid alone upon God, and you might not gad abroad to seek an outward teacher; for the Lord God alone will teach his people; and He is coming to teach them, and to gather them from idols' temples, and from the customary worships, in which all the world is trained up. God hath given to every one of you a measure of his Spirit, according to your capacities: liars, drunkards, adulterers, and thieves, and you who follow filthy pleasures, you all have this measure in you. This is the

measure of the Spirit of God, that shows your sin, and evil and deceit; which lets you see that lying is sin; and that theft, drunkenness, and uncleanness, are all the works of darkness. Therefore, as nothing that is unclean shall enter into the kingdom of God, mind your measure, and prize your time while you have it, lest the time come that you say with sorrow: we had time, but it is past. Oh! why will ye die? Why will ye choose your own ways? Why will ye follow the course of the world? and, Why will ye follow envy, malice, drunkenness, and foolish pleasures? Know ye not in your consciences that all these are evil and sin; and that such as act such things, shall never enter into the kingdom of God? Oh! that ye would consider, and see how you have spent your time, and mind how ye do spend it, and observe whom ye do serve; for ‘the wages of sin is death.’ Do not ye know that whatsoever is more than yea and nay, cometh of evil? Therefore, love the light, with which Christ hath enlightened you, who saith, ‘I am the Light of the world.’ and who doth enlighten every one that cometh into the world. One loves the light, and brings his works to the light, and there is no occasion at all of stumbling; the other hates the light, because his deeds are evil, and the light will reprove him. Thou that hatest this light, thou hast it: thou knowest that lying is evil, drunkenness is evil, swearing is evil, fornication, theft, and all ungodliness, and all unrighteousness, are evil. Christ Jesus hath given thee light enough to see that all these are evil. This light, if thou lovest it, will teach thee holiness and righteousness, without which, none shall see God; but if thou hatest this light, it is thy condemnation. Thus are Christ’s words found to be true, and fulfilled among you: you that hate this light, set up hirelings, and idols’ temples, and such priests as bear rule by their means; such shepherds as hold up such things; such as are called of men—masters, and have the chiefest places in the assemblies, whom Christ cried wo against; (Matt. xxiii.) such as go in the way of Cain, in envy, and after the error of Balaam for wages, gifts, and rewards: these have been your teachers, and these you have held up. But they who love

the light, are taught of God; and the Lord is coming to teach his people himself, and to gather them from hirelings, and from such as seek for gain in their quarter, and from such as bear rule by their means.

“The Lord is opening the eyes of people, that they may see such as bear rule over them. But all whose eyes are shut, are such as the prophets spoke of, that ‘have eyes, and see not,’ but are foolish, upholding such things. Therefore, poor people, as ye love your own souls, consider the love of God to your souls, while ye have time, and do not turn the grace of God into wantonness. That which shows you ungodliness and worldly lusts, should and would be your Teacher, if ye would hearken to it; for the saints of old witnessed the grace of God to be their Teacher, which taught them to live soberly and godly in this present world. Ye that are not sober, this grace of God hath appeared unto you, but you turn it into wantonness, and so set up outward teachers, who are not sober, not holy, not godly. Here you are left without excuse, when the righteous judgment of God shall be revealed upon all who live ungodly. Therefore to the light within you I speak; and when the book of conscience shall come to be opened, then shall you witness what I say to be true, and you all shall be judged out of it. God Almighty direct your minds, (such of you, especially, who love honesty and sincerity,) that you may receive mercy in the time of need. Your Teacher is *within you*; lack not faith: it will teach you both lying in your beds, and in going abroad, to shun all occasion of sin and evil.

“GEORGE FOX.”

The following extract is from a letter addressed to his own followers in the northern counties:—

“TO YOU ALL, FRIENDS EVERY WHERE SCATTERED ABROAD.

“In the measure of the life of God, wait for wisdom from God, even from Him, from whom it comes. And all ye, who are children of God, wait for the living food from the living God, to be nourished up to eternal life, from the one

fountain, from whence life comes; that in order ye may all be guided and walk; and that every one in particular may see to, and take care of, the ordering and ruling of his own family; that in righteousness and wisdom it may be governed, the fear and the dread of the Lord being set in every one's heart; that the secrets of the Lord every one may come to receive; that stewards of his grace you may come to be, to dispense it to every one as they have need; so that nothing that is contrary to the pure life of God, may be brought forth in you, or among you; but all that is contrary to it, may by it be judged; so that in light, in life, and love, ye may all live, and all that is contrary to the light, the life, and love, may be brought to judgment, and by that light be condemned." It then goes on to state that all human wisdom, boastings, pride, strife, and lusts are contrary to this divine light, and by it are condemned in the hearts of those who are watchful to abide in its sure teachings.

CHAPTER VII.

1654—Departure from Swarthmore—Reproves a company of Ranters for swearing—Turbulent meetings near Halifax—Disputation with the clergy at Drayton, his birth-place—Arrested by Colonel Hacker, and sent before Cromwell—His interview at the palace and liberation—His picture of a fine lady and fine gentleman of the Commonwealth.

“But I say unto you, *Swear not at all*; neither by heaven; for it is God’s throne: nor by the earth; for it is his footstool: neither by Jerusalem; for it is the city of the great King. Neither shalt thou swear by thy head, because thou canst not make one hair white or black: but let your communication be, yea, yea; nay, nay; for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil.”—Matt. v. 34—37.

“But above all things, my brethren, swear not, neither by heaven, neither by the earth, *neither by any other oath*; but let your yea be yea; and your nay, nay; lest ye fall into condemnation.”—James v. 12.

In the beginning of the year 1654, G. Fox turned his face southwards, and taking leave of his kind friends at Swarthmore, he proceeded to Lancaster, from whence he travelled through part of Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, and Nottinghamshire, every where unremitting in his spiritual labours, and in the duties of his mission. Upon this journey he was often brought into contact with the Ranters, a captious sect, which had extended its pernicious doctrines very widely at this time; but, through the extravagant notions, and profligate lives of its advocates, very soon fell into universal discredit. Meeting with a large company of these men in the Peake country, in Derbyshire, he reproved them for swearing; a vice to which they were much addicted, alleging in defence of their practice, that the patriarchs, Moses, and the angels swore, he replied: “he confessed all these did so, as the scripture records; but Christ, who said, ‘before Abraham was I am,’ commanded, ‘swear not at all.’ Christ ends the prophets, the old priesthood, the dispensation of Moses, and reigns

over the house of Jacob and Joseph; and he says, 'Swear not at all.' And God when he bringeth the first begotten into the world, saith, 'let all the angels of God worship him,' to wit, Jesus Christ, who saith, 'Swear not at all.' As for the plea that men make of swearing, to end their strife, Christ, who says, 'Swear not at all,' destroys the devil and his works, who is the author of strife; for that is one of his works. And God said, 'this is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, hear ye him.' So the Son is to be heard, who forbids swearing. And the apostle James, who did hear the Son of God, followed him, and preached him, *forbids all oaths.*"

It is upon this direct command of our Saviour, confirmed by the testimony of the apostle James, and by the practice and opinion of all Christians of the first three centuries, that the Quakers ground their refusal of all manner of oaths. No sooner, however, was their fidelity and firmness in resisting this unchristian practice known, than their noble testimony against it was converted into a pretext of severe persecution. And on this account, whenever a Quaker was marked out for destruction, his oppressors had only to bring him before a magistrate, and tender him, either the oath of abjuration, under Cromwell, or those of allegiance and supremacy, after the Restoration: his certain refusal to take either of them, or any other oath, invariably sent him to prison; sometimes followed by a confiscation of his property, and sometimes by a sentence premunire, that often ended in the total ruin of his estate and family.

The argument urged by G. Fox on this point, is close and unanswerable, if we keep strictly to the plain sense, and simple grammatical meaning of the passage quoted from Matthew. For, if the decisive and comprehensive nature of the pointed injunction: "But I say unto you, *Swear not at all,*" and the closing declaration thereof, "Whatsoever is more than these, cometh of evil," which extends it to every description of swearing, without any exception whatever, and by which our Lord explains and justifies his law; be taken in conjunction with other passages on the same subject, as Matt. xxiii. 21, 22, and James v., we shall find, "that oaths

of a secondary kind are forbidden by our Lord, on the express principle, that they were nearly allied to more solemn oaths, and that some of these forms did, in fact, involve a real swearing by Jehovah." *

With this view of the subject, how can we reconcile the 39th Article of the church on "a Christian man's oath," with these passages? Is not that Article, in fact, a direct contradiction of a universal gospel precept, and a violation of our Saviour's command, "Swear not at all?" which like all other tenets opposed to the gospel, savours of its popish origin, and is founded in expediency and upon worldly policy. The only arguments brought forward by churchmen, in defence of this Article, are drawn from scholia or glosses, in which by perverting the simple meaning of scripture, they endeavour to make it appear, that in these passages, our Saviour only forbade swearing by the creatures, and the use of secondary and profane oaths. Whereas his command is, "Swear not at all," and is qualified by no kind of exception, either stated or implied, and therefore is as fully binding upon all Christians, as any one command of the decalogue ever was to the Jews: and in this light it was received by the early fathers of the church, prior to the fourth century. Some of these glosses even go so far as to assert, that both our Saviour himself and St. Paul swore.

This subject suggests another important consideration. If the holy gospel is our only outward rule of faith, then it follows, that the articles of the church, wherein they contradict the gospel, or are not in strict unison with it, must be wrong; but if the 39 Articles are to be our rule, then it follows by the same induction, that the gospel itself is in error. One of these two positions must be admitted, and it must be left to the good sense of the reader to make his own election.

"Man cannot do any meritorious work; the free grace of God, which he receives through faith in Christ, alone saves him:" such was the doctrine proclaimed in Christendom, when Luther gave forth his version of the New Testament

* See Gurney on Oaths, p. 334.

a doctrine which could not fail to impel it towards scripture. In fact, if faith in Christ is every thing in Christianity, if the practices and ordinances of the church are indifferent, it is not to the word of the church, but to the word of Christ, that adhesion must be given." *

Surely, this is a subject more worthy the mature consideration of our highly professing Christian church, than discussing the innovations of surplices, and the mummery of "courtesies and candlesticks;" for no argument drawn from the writings of papists, or from the traditions of the Romish church, can ever be allowed as a sufficient authority to set aside any one precept of the gospel. The experience of nearly two centuries shows, in the case of the Quakers, that the affirmation has been in all cases as religiously observed, as ever was an oath in any age of the world; for during this period, scarcely an instance can be brought forward of a false affirmation, whereas on the contrary, the crime of perjury is of almost daily occurrence in our courts of law. At this time, when the diffusion of knowledge is becoming every day more general, and when a great mass of the people are inquiring into these matters for themselves, they are becoming less and less satisfied to overlook, either the mistakes, or the short-comings of their predecessors, upon religious as well as upon political affairs. Queen Elizabeth altered the 39 Articles to suit her own views, and reduced them from 42 to 39, surely, they may again be altered to bring them into closer accordance with the gospel.

During his travels into Yorkshire, he held a meeting, for want of better accommodation, in a close belonging to Thomas Taylor, about three miles from Halifax. Soon after the Friends had assembled, the meeting was interrupted by the sudden inroad of a boisterous crew, led on by several butchers who had sworn to kill him, and they endeavoured to disperse the meeting by yelling and pushing the Friends about. At last G. Fox was moved to stand up in the midst, and say, "If they would discourse of the things of God, let

* D'Aubigné's Reformation, vol. iii. book ix. chap. ix. p. 287.

them come to him one by one; and if they had any thing to object, he would answer them all, one after another." These few words, impressively delivered, caused a general silence, and then, he says, "the Lord's power came so over them all and answered the Divine Witness in them, that they were bound by the power of God, and a glorious powerful meeting ensued; and the minds of many people were awakened by the Holy Spirit in them, to God, and to Christ their Teacher." The evil spirit of these butchers, and the unruly vulgarity of their companions, was so suddenly subdued for the time, and so chained down by some awful sense of a controlling power, that they were unable to carry into effect their nefarious designs. Such was the power and the authority with which he spoke. One of these butchers was very shortly after committed to York jail for killing a man; and another of them who for a long time had been in the habit of thrusting out his tongue, in derision, whenever he saw a Quaker, had his tongue swollen out of his mouth, by disease, to such an extent, that he could never again draw it back, but died with it in this miserable condition.

We next find him on a visit to his family at Drayton, his native place, from which he had been absent about three years. Here he was challenged to hold a disputation with his old parish priest, Nathaniel Stephens, who had now turned Independent, and was supported by many ministers of that persuasion, all of whom made so sure of confuting G. Fox, and of overthrowing his doctrine, that they had given notice of this meeting in their respective parishes, and many hundreds of people assembled upon the occasion. G. Fox says, "that the priests thought that day to have trampled down Truth, but the Truth came over them." Like most other meetings of this kind, both parties accused one another with being false prophets; but G. Fox overwhelmed his opponents with such pointed quotations, from the Old and the New Testament, proving against the practice of tithes, and of preaching for pay, that the meeting was at last broken up in a very unruly manner: the disputants still remaining pretty much of the same opinion as when they began; "but great

numbers of hearers were convinced by G. Fox, and many who had been before convinced, were that day confirmed in the truth."

In a prior dispute, Stephens had admitted before the people, "that G. Fox had come to the light of the sun, and now he wanted to put out his star-light." Upon which G. Fox replied, "He would not quench the least measure of God in any one, much less put out his star-light, if it were the true light from the morning-star." And farther, "If he had any thing from Christ, he ought to speak it freely, and not to take tithes from people for preaching; seeing Christ commanded his ministers to give freely as they had received freely."

The argument respecting the free preaching of the gospel, founded upon that injunction of our Saviour to the twelve, and afterwards to the seventy disciples, whom he sent forth to heal by miracles and to preach: "freely ye have received, freely give;" still remains a subject on which the bulk of the Christian world essentially differs from the Quakers, in how far this injunction is to be considered in the light of a special charge to those disciples, and applicable only to their particular circumstances, or whether it is to be taken as the Quakers view it, in the more general sense, and as a precept intended for the regulation of all future ministers of the gospel, a construction, however, that the practice and precepts of the apostles seem to authorize. The Quakers also essentially differ from all other Christians, in the purity of their standard for the necessary qualification of it, by not admitting any one to the exercise of this important function, who is not immediately called thereto by the Holy Spirit; and as we have before stated, without this inward vocation, they consider no outward preparation whatever, as a sufficient qualification for this sacred office.

Very soon after this great meeting at Drayton, he was arrested by order of Colonel Hacker, and at night was brought before him for examination; the Colonel was surrounded by many of his officers, who questioned him as to the purport of the Quakers' meetings, for a secret plot against the Pro-

tector had just been discovered. His explanation was so far satisfactory, that Colonel Hacker told him he was at liberty to return home, provided he would remain there, and refrain from attending meetings. With this stipulation he refused to comply, because it would imply that he had committed some offence for which the government required him to stay at home; he also alleged as a further reason, that "he must have liberty to serve God, and go to meetings." Colonel Hacker replied, as that was the case, he should send him the next day, under the charge of Captain Drury, before the Lord Protector. The next morning, at the point of day, being brought up into the Colonel's chamber, while he was yet in bed, previously to his departure, he knelt down and prayed the Lord to forgive him; "for he, like Pilate, would wash his hands; but when the day of his misery and trial should come upon him, he bid him then remember what he had said to him."

After the Restoration, while Colonel Hacker was in prison, and only a few days prior to his execution at Tyburn, he confessed to Margaret Fell, upon her reminding him of the circumstance, "that he knew what she meant, and had a trouble upon him for it."

The affair of his arrest was a concerted scheme between Stephens' party and Colonel Hacker, in order to get rid of G. Fox and stop the spread of his opinions, by preventing him from holding any more meetings, at all of which their own tenets had been refuted by him. This design was made apparent while on their journey to London, from the circumstance of Captain Drury several times offering him his liberty upon the terms proposed by Colonel Hacker: but as G. Fox remained firm to his purpose, he was carried to town, and lodged at the Mermaid, at Charing Cross. The following day, Captain Drury waited upon Oliver Cromwell, who sent a message to G. Fox requiring him to promise, "never to take up any carnal weapon against him or the government, as it then stood, which declaration he might write in what words he saw good, and put his hand to it." Whereupon he wrote a paper, stating that, "He did in the presence of the Lord

God declare, that he did deny the wearing or drawing of any carnal sword, or any other outward weapon, against him or any other man. And that he was sent of God to stand a witness against all violence and against the works of darkness; and to turn people from darkness to light; to bring them from the occasion of war and fighting to the peaceable gospel; and from being evil-doers, to which the magistrates' sword would be a terror." To this paper he signed his name, and sent it to the Protector; and a few days after, he was summoned to an interview with him at Whitehall, which took place early in the morning while he was dressing. As G. Fox entered the apartment, he was moved to say: "Peace be unto this house;" he also exhorted Cromwell "to keep in the fear of God, that he might receive wisdom from Him; that by it he might be ordered, and with it he might order all things under his hand unto God's glory." Cromwell had then a long discourse with him about truth and religion, in which "he carried himself very moderately." He however complained to G. Fox that the Quakers quarrelled with his ministers; who in reply told Cromwell, that it was against their principle to quarrel with any one, but that the clergy charged the Quakers with being false prophets, which they retorted by showing from the scriptures how much the clergy themselves resembled the false prophets, both in their doctrine and practice. He then entered at large upon his own opinions and doctrine, producing his usual quotations against tithes and hirelings, and exhibiting the marks by which the false prophets were to be known. During this address, Cromwell several times said, "It was very good, and it was truth." G. Fox resumed, "that all Christendom possessed the scriptures, but they wanted the power and spirit that those had, who gave forth the scriptures, and that was the reason they were not in fellowship with the Son, nor with the Father, nor with the scriptures, nor with one another."

The interview was now interrupted by the arrival of several persons, and upon G. Fox retiring back a few paces, Oliver Cromwell caught him by the hand, and with tears in

his eyes said, "Come again to my house; for if thou and I were but for an hour a day together, we should be nearer one to the other;" adding, "that he wished him no more harm than he did to his own soul." G. Fox replied, "If he did, he wronged his own soul; and admonished him to hearken to God's voice, that he might stand in his counsel, and obey it; and if he did so, that voice would keep him from hardness of heart; but if he did not heed God's voice, his heart would be hardened." This injunction Cromwell acknowledged to be true. Upon leaving the Protector, Captain Drury came after him, and informed him that his Lord Protector said, he was at liberty, and might go whither he pleased, and then conducted him into a great hall, where the Protector's gentlemen were to dine. He asked them, "why they brought him thither?" and he was told, that it was the Protector's desire that he should dine with them. "He then bid them inform the Protector, that he would not eat of his bread, nor drink of his drink." When Oliver Cromwell heard this message, he exclaimed, "Now I see there is a people arisen, that I cannot win either with gifts, honours, offices, or places, but all other sects and people I can."

This narrative divulges the crafty policy of Cromwell, and at the same time exposes the hollow principle and want of integrity which ruled the different parties of the day. His message to G. Fox shows that he perfectly understood his character, and also that he was well aware how little he had to fear from the opinions and general conduct of the Quakers; and that till he had tried them, he could not tell, but that they were to be bought at a price the same as all other people. The courtesy held out to G. Fox as a bait, and which most men under similar circumstances would have esteemed an honour, was upon this occasion rejected; and Cromwell's exclamation upon his refusal, unfolds a volume of his character and policy.

The interest excited by the novelty of G. Fox's opinions, had now become so general, that during his abode at the Mermaid, at Charing Cross, he was visited by a variety of people; many coming from curiosity, and many from a de-

sire of conversing and disputing with a man who had advanced doctrines so different to the opinions, and in some instances, so at variance with the practices of all other denominations of Christians. This period of our national history, was, in fact, the era of religious disputations; they formed the leading topics of conversation, excited great interest with all classes, and formed the ground-work of all the political changes of this eventful period; for even the soldiers of the Commonwealth were pre-eminently affected with polemical controversy. To this circumstance, we may in a great measure attribute the very striking features of this remarkable revolution, which differed so widely in all its circumstances and results, from that at the close of the eighteenth century, which overwhelmed France with the grossest infidelity, and widely spread its pernicious seeds over a large portion of the European continent; clearly manifesting, that even the horrors and crimes of a civil war are greatly mitigated where Christianity is honoured as a divine principle, and acknowledged as the ostensible rule of life.

An opposite view of the case is however taken by an able modern writer, who says, "There is a close analogy between the popular revolutions of France and England. In France, the same symbols and principles re-appeared; but more rapidly and on a wider theatre. The elements of humanity are always the same; the Inner Light dawns upon every nation, and is the same in every age; and the French Revolution was a result of the same principles as those of G. Fox, gaining dominion over the mind of Europe."* The only analogy, however, between the two events is, that both resulted from the progress of knowledge emancipating the mind from the superstitious veneration for ancient institutions, which only secured to the privileged classes wealth and honours, at the expense of the mass of the people. In both, we see the same contest for political liberty, the same struggle of mind to free itself from the thralldom of superstition; in the former, carried on by endeavouring to rid Christianity of its

* Bancroft's "History of America," vol. i. p. 343.

popery; and in the latter, by condemning as a farrago of nonsense every fact and principle, that was ever held as sacred and holy by the Christian world. But the "Inner Light" of G. Fox is the grand principle of Christianity—the purifying operation of the divine grace in the heart—a principle, the very reverse of which was the great feature of the French Revolution; in which man denied the living God, blasphemed his Holy Name, and fell prostrate before the idol of human reason. He blindly gave himself up to the unrestrained reign of the passions, stained with the foulest crimes against morality, the grossest infidelity, and the most infamous blasphemy. While in the English struggle, although he was sometimes misled by enthusiastic feelings and the fanatical character of the times, still by admitting the broad principles of Christianity as his rule, he was saved from the gross crimes which polluted the latter convulsion.

Some of his interviews, while at the "Mermaid," afford a striking picture of the times. "Once," he says, "a company of officers being with me, desired me to pray with them. I sat still, with my mind retired to the Lord. At last I felt the power and spirit of God to move me, and the Lord's power did so shake and shatter them, that they *considered*, although they did not live in it." Upon another occasion, a Colonel Packer, with several of his officers, called upon him, and while they were in the room, came in a large company of Ranters. The latter upon entering his apartment ordered beer and tobacco for themselves, G. Fox however objected to their taking such a liberty in his room, and told them, that if they wished to smoke and drink, they must retire to another room in the inn. Upon which one of them cried out, "all is ours," and another exclaimed, "all is well." G. Fox reproved the latter, replying, "how can all be well, when thou art so peevish, and envious, and crabbed; for he perceived he was of a peevish nature." He then spoke to all their several conditions individually, in so pointed a manner, that they looked at one another and wondered. He also reproved the colonel for his "light and chaffy" words upon serious subjects. The colonel and his officers were Baptists, and the Ranters

were extremely complaisant to them; they both bowed and scraped to each other "over much," and G. Fox told them, "they were fit to go together, for they were both of one spirit."

After his liberation, he took up his abode in the city, where he held many "great and powerful" meetings; so thronged were they by people of all persuasions, "that he could hardly get to and from them for the crowds of people." Numbers were converted daily, and large meetings were established in several parts of the city, to the no small annoyance of the preachers among the prevailing sects, who were "greatly disturbed" by this favourable reception of his tenets. During his stay in the city, "he was moved" upon several occasions to go up to Whitehall, and personally to exhort and reprove the officers of Cromwell's gentlemen of the guard; and in the course of these visits to the palace, he was brought into contact with one of the Protector's priests, retained by him as a "news-monger," of which he had many employed in this capacity. This important personage, who superintended the publication of the *Gazette*, took so much offence at G. Fox's freedom of address, especially as he had presumed to reprove a man of his consequence, published in his paper many falsities about G. Fox and the Quakers; but he was afterwards so closely called to account for them, he was obliged to withdraw his attack and leave them unmolested. "These priests, the news-mongers, were of the Independent sect like those in Leicestershire; but the Lord's power came over all their lies, and swept them away. A great conviction there was in London, and some in the Protector's house and family: I went to see him again," he says, "but could not get to him, the officers were grown so rude."

About this time, he wrote an address to all "professors of Christianity," warning them to beware, that as the high-priest and Jews denied Christ when on earth, so also they, by their unchristian conduct, and acrimonious spirit, were not only equally denying him, but were also crucifying Him daily by their pride and uncharitable feeling towards other professors. He wrote also to the Pope, and to all

Catholic kings and rulers in Europe, calling upon them to amend their ways, and renounce their idolatrous practices. And another long address he wrote to the commissioners appointed by the Parliament for the trying and approving of ministers, giving them very good and Christian advice upon the important duties of their office; but as this commission was issued in too much of a political and party spirit, and was intended more for the elevation of the ruling party at the expense of their opponents, than for the reformation of abuses, it is to be feared that his advice was as much lost upon them, as it was upon the Pope and the Catholic rulers of Europe. The following, as it draws a vivid picture of a fine lady and gentleman of the Commonwealth, in which their habiliments, vanities, and pastimes are minutely depicted, we shall insert at full:—

“TO SUCH AS FOLLOW THE WORLD’S FASHIONS.

“What a world is this! How doth the devil garnish himself! how obedient are people to do his will and mind! They are altogether carried away with fooleries and vanities, both men and women. They have lost the hidden man of the heart, the meek and quiet spirit; which with the Lord is of great price. They have lost the adorning of Sarah; they are putting on gold and gay apparel; women plaiting the hair, men and women powdering it; making their backs look like bags of meal. They look so strange, that they can scarcely look at one another; they are so lifted up in pride. Pride hath puffed up every one of them. They are out of the fear of God; man and woman. Young and old; one puffs up another. They must be in the fashion of the world, else they are not in esteem; nay, they are not respected if they have not gold or silver upon their backs, or if their hair be not powdered. But if one have a store of ribbons hanging about his waist, at his knees, and in his hat of divers colours, red, white, black, or yellow, and his hair powdered, then he is a brave man, then he is accepted, then he is no Quaker, because he hath ribbons on his back, belly, and knees, and his hair is powdered. This is the way of the world. But

is not this from the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh, or the pride of life? Likewise the women having their gold, their patches on their faces, noses, cheeks, and foreheads, their rings of gold on their fingers, their cuffs double under and above, like a butcher with his white sleeves; their ribbons tied about their hands, three or four gold laces about their clothes; this is no Quaker, they say. This attire pleaseth the world; and if they cannot get these things they are discontented. But this is not the attire of Sarah, whose adorning was the hidden man of the heart, of a quiet and meek spirit. This is the adorning of the heathen, not of the apostle, nor of the saints, whose adorning was not wearing of gold, nor plaiting of hair, but that of a meek and quiet spirit, which is of great price with the Lord. Here was the sobriety and good ornament which was accepted of the Lord. This was Paul's exhortation and preaching; but we see the talkers of Paul's words live out of Paul's command, and out of the example of Sarah, and are found in the steps of the great heathen, who comes to examine the apostle in his gorgeous apparel. Are not these, that have got ribbons hanging about their arms, hands, waists, backs, knees, and hats, like fiddlers' boys? This shows that they are got into the basest and most contemptible life, who are in the fashion of fiddlers' boys and stage-players, quite out of the paths and steps of solid men; and in the very steps and paths of the wild heads, who give themselves up to every invention and vanity of the world that appears, and are inventing how to get it upon their backs, heads, legs, and feet, and say, if it be out of the fashion, it is nothing worth. And further, if one get a pair of breeches like a coat, and hang them about with points, and up almost to the middle, a pair of double cuffs upon his hands, and a feather in his cap, here is a gentleman; bow before him, put off your hats, get a company of fiddlers, a set of music, and women to dance. This is a brave fellow. Are these your fine Christians? yea, say they, they are Christians; but, say the serious people, they are out of Christ's life, out of the apostle's command, and out of the saint's ornament. To see such as these, a company of them playing at bowls,

or at tables, or at shovel-board, or each taking his horse, with as many bunches of ribbons on his head as the rider hath on his own, perhaps a ring in his ear too, and so go to horse-racing to spoil the creatures. Oh! these are gentlemen indeed, these are bred up gentlemen, these are brave fellows, they must take their recreation; for pleasures are lawful. These in their sports set up their shout like wild asses. Here is evil breeding of youth and young women, who are carried away with the vanities of the mind in their own inventions, pride, arrogance, lust, gluttony, uncleanness. These be they that live in pleasures upon earth; these be they who are dead while they live; who glory not in the Lord, but in the flesh: these be they that are out of the life that the scriptures were given forth from, who live in the fashions and vanities of the world, out of the truth's adorning, in the devil's adorning (who is out of the truth); and not in the adorning of the Lord, which is a meek and quiet spirit, and is with the Lord of great price. But this inward adorning is not put on by them that adorn themselves, and have the ornament of him that is out of the truth. That is not accepted with the Lord, which is accepted in their eye.

“GEORGE FOX.”

CHAPTER VIII.

1655, 1656. Is roughly used by the Students at Cambridge. The oath of abjuration, a cause of oppression to the Quakers—Travels into Cornwall with Edward Pyot—Apprehended at St. Ives and sent to Launceston Castle under a military escort—Examination before Chief Justice Glynne—His shameful treatment while in confinement at Launceston.

“If ye be reproached for the name of Christ, happy are ye: for the spirit of glory and of God resteth upon you. If any man suffer as a Christian, let him not be ashamed; but let him glorify God on this behalf.”—1 Peter iv. 14, 16.

1655. This year his travels were extended over a great surface of England. In the early part of it, in company with Amor Stoddart, once a captain in the parliamentary forces, he passed through the counties of Kent, Sussex, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge-shire, returning to London. With some few exceptions of rough and uncourteous treatment, they were on the whole favourably received, and their invitations were generally attended by great concourses of all ranks, from which ensued great “convincements,” and the establishment of meetings at a variety of places throughout these counties.

Between Yarmouth and Lynn, they were apprehended by hue and cry, as housebreakers, which malicious charge was invented by some Independent Justices, who had taken great offence at G. Fox, in an interview they had previously had with him during the time he remained in custody at the Mermaid, at Charing Cross.

This unfounded charge, (for it was proved by Captain Lawrence, that upon the night of the alleged robbery, they had both been under his roof,) caused them some trouble and delay from the evil disposition of the examining magistrate, who although he was obliged to admit, that upon the evi-

dence they were not the men, still he showed a great inclination to send them back to Norwich jail, being incited to this unjust course by the constable, who observed that they both had good horses, and that he would take them over to Norwich. At Cambridge they were also roughly handled by the students, who were all on the alert to play off their tricks upon the Quakers, as they rode through the city to their inn. George Fox being a tall and bulky man, reached his quarters in safety; but his companion, Amor Stoddart, they managed to unhorse before he arrived there. The remark that occurs in his journal upon this behaviour of the students, does not reflect much credit upon them, either for courtesy of manners, or for good breeding; it shows how little their deportment was polished by polite acquirements, or their feelings humanized by Christian precepts; and how ungenial a republican atmosphere is to the development of the suavities of life.

The second city of the kingdom, celebrated for its theological and classical lore, ought to have been one of the last places where new doctrines and strange tenets should have been opposed only by practical jokes. He says of them, "a ruder set I never encountered even amongst the miners and colliers;" and he accounts for their conduct in these words, "they knew I was so against the trade of preaching, which they were there as apprentices to learn, that they raged as bad as ever did Diana's craftsmen against Paul."

Soon after his return to London, he wrote an address, "To those who made a scorn of quaking and trembling," proving that from Moses downwards, most of the holy men of old did continually fear and tremble in the presence of the Lord. And another, "To those who hold the Quakers in contempt for their plainness." He wrote also to the Protector about the oath of abjuration, stating to him the great handle of oppression this oath was made, to persecute his peaceable people the Friends, who could not conscientiously take this, nor any other oath, for fear of offending their Lord and Master, Christ, who had commanded all men not to swear.

Persecutions of all kinds began thickly to assail the de-

fenceless Quakers, from their bitter enemies, the preachers of the rigid sectarians, whose hypocrisy and unchristian practices they unsparingly laid open; men whose heads were stuffed with *notions*, while their hearts were devoid of the *spirit* of religion. It was now well known that the Quakers' principles did not allow them to retaliate, however illegal were the proceedings against them, and in consequence they became an easy prey to the base and cowardly, who in many cases were countenanced in their oppressions by the civil magistrate, whose duty it was to have protected the innocent from the lawless encroachments of the wicked. To such an extent were men's minds soured, and their feelings irritated by the religious disputes of the day. G. Fox says, "Great rage was amongst the professors, for they wickedly reported that the Quakers carried bottles about with them, of which they gave the people to drink, to make them follow them. But the Power, Spirit, and Truth of God, kept Friends over the rage of the people. Great spoiling also there was made of Friends' goods for tithes by the Independent, Presbyterian, and Baptist priests, who now had got into the steeple-houses."

G. Fox throughout his journal uses the term priests as applied to the holders of benefices and cures; but by this term, he does not mean, that they were all regular members of the church of England. Episcopacy had now been long abolished, and the Presbyterian directory established in its stead, and in consequence, many of the more conscientious clergy, who refused compliance with these innovations, had been displaced by adventurers of the ruling factions of the day, all of whom were as eager to participate in the church's temporalities, as they had been fierce in declaring against her doctrines and practices.*

* "During the whole reign of James I., and the first fifteen years of Charles I., the Presbyterians were oppressed, or at least may be said not to have been treated by the Church of England as Christian charity seemed to require. From the beginning of the Long Parliament in 1640, the church was persecuted in her turn, and Episcopacy itself at last entirely abolished.

"When the Independents were become masters of the army and the parliament,

Of all the numerous sects to which this unsettled period gave rise, the Quakers alone were purely disinterested, they were influenced by no worldly motives, they preached without remuneration, and bore a faithful testimony to their principles, through the most cruel persecutions. The same Christian principle which led them to refuse the payment of tithes and church rates, taught them also to submit patiently to the legal proceedings to which this conduct subjected them, and which through the malice of their enemies were often converted into ruinous losses. The scheme of pulling down one set of men in order to establish themselves in their places, formed no part of their design. Their object was simply to enlighten the minds of their fellow-creatures, by calling their attention from external observances to the more important "Inward Teacher," the Grace of God in their hearts, by which the plain truths of the gospel would be clearly understood; and to show by their own example, how far superior was a life ruled by this holy principle, to that of one regulated by worldly policy.

the Episcopalians still continued under oppression, and though the Presbyterian, church government was outwardly preserved, there was a liberty for all protestant sects, which the Presbyterians considered as a violent persecution."—*Tindal's Rapin*, vol. ii. p. 624.

1641. "And they (the Long Parliament,) particularly forbade bowing at the name of Jesus; a practice which gave them the highest scandal, and which was one of the principal objections against the established religion."—*Hume*, Charles I.

1642. "The bishops were impeached, sequestered from Parliament and given into custody."—*Ibid.*

1646. "The Presbyterians and Independents, even before their victory over the church was fully established, fell into contest about the division of the spoil; and their religious as well as civil disputes agitated the whole kingdom. In this year the Parliament first established the Presbyterian directory, having abolished, long before, Episcopacy. They refused however to assent to the divine right of presbytery, at the same time voting toleration to all Protestant sectaries, and allowing of an appeal to themselves from decisions of the ecclesiastical courts."—*Ibid.*

1647. "The severities now exercised against the Episcopal divines by the Presbyterian party, were so great, that one-half of the established clergy were turned out to beggary and want, for refusing to renounce the liturgy and subscribe to the covenant."—*Ibid.*

1648. "The bill for the abolishment of Episcopacy and the whole Hierarchy was passed this year."—*Ibid.*

About this time, he travelled in company with Edward Pyot of Bristol, through the western counties as far as the Land's-end in Cornwall. In their progress through Dorchester, they requested of the Baptists the use of their meeting-house, and upon being refused, a concourse of people resorted to the inn to hear them, to which place also came the Baptist preachers for the purpose of interrupting the meeting; they conducted themselves very disgracefully, with great rage, "slapping their Bibles on the tables." G. Fox asked them, "if they were angry with the Bible?" and, "if they could say, they were sent by God with a special command to baptize people, as John was; and whether they professed the same spirit and power that the apostles had?" To this, they replied, "they had not;" he then asked them "whether they acknowledged more than two powers, one the power of God, and the other the power of the devil." They said, "they did not." Then, replied G. Fox, "if you acknowledge that you do not act in the power and Spirit of God, you must act by the power of the devil." Being unexpectedly caught in this syllogism, their clamours were stopped, and they withdrew from the meeting, and the next day had the additional mortification of learning that many of their followers had joined the Quakers.

While he was at Plymouth, Elizabeth Trelawney, the daughter of a Baronet in that neighbourhood, came to one of his large meetings, and as she was very deaf she placed herself next to G. Fox, holding her ear close to him that she might catch the substance of his discourse, and was so thoroughly convinced by his preaching that she became a Quaker, in which persuasion she remained steadfast until her death, although she met with great opposition from her family and connexions, who tried every means of dissuading her from her newly-adopted opinions.

The most remarkable incident in this journey, is the long imprisonment and hard usage, which he and his companions underwent in Launceston jail.

In Cornwall, the two above-mentioned travellers were joined by another preacher of their persuasion, William Salt

of London, who came down to participate in their labours. G. Fox having drawn up a short paper addressed to some of the parishes at Land's-end, simply exhorting them, "to repent and turn to God, and do works meet for repentance;" referring them to Christ, who says, "Learn of me; I am the way, the truth, and the life;" who lighteth every man that cometh into the world; but if you hate this light, it will be your condemnation. Every one of you hath a light from Christ, which lets you see you should not lie, nor do any wrong, nor swear, nor curse, nor take God's name in vain, nor steal," &c. Passing on the road a servant of Major Ceely of St. Ives, they gave him one of these papers; and his master being a magistrate, caused them to be apprehended as soon as they arrived at St. Ives. After a rough and ludicrous examination, he committed them to Launceston Jail, the principal cause of offence lying in the unusual length of G. Fox's hair, which offered a suspicious appearance to the jealous eyes of a stanch republican, and which, as before stated, from some sense of religious duty, he had suffered to go uncut for a length of time. Both the Major and the Presbyterian minister of St. Ives, "a silly young priest," were very minute and circumstantial in their inquiries into this important subject, being no doubt apprehensive, as the sequel shows, that potent mischief might lie concealed under his flowing locks. Upon this suspicion, alone, and without the least evidence of any breach of the law, he consigned three respectable men to the custody of a Captain Keat, who was to escort them to prison with a party of his armed troopers. On the road to jail, they exhibited the same resolute perseverance in the line of their religious duty, preaching the gospel, and explaining their principles upon every opportunity. While resting at Redruth on the Sunday morning, a party of the town's-folk collected round them, and G. Fox engaged the soldiers in discourse, whilst Edward Pyot preached to the people; and in turn Edward Pyot did the same while G. Fox preached. At the same time, William Salt getting away unperceived, went into the church and addressed the congregation, who only repaid him with

abuse; the soldiers also, as soon as they discovered how he had given them the slip, were much incensed. At Falmouth, at that time called Smethick, and a very insignificant place, they were so shamefully treated by Captain Keat, that upon application to the chief constable, he took the warrant away from the soldiers, and said, he would convey the prisoners himself at his own charge, rather than they should be so abused. The circumstance was, that Keat brought to the inn a rude blustering kinsman, whom he thrust into G. Fox's room, and who immediately began, without any provocation, to abuse him, elbowing and pushing him about, striking him and trying to throw him down on the floor. During the whole of the time, Keat stood at the door, silently looking on. G. Fox called out to him, "Keat, is this manly or civil to have us under guard and put a man to abuse and beat us? Is this manly, civil, or Christian-like?" G. Fox then sent for the constables, who being considerate and respectable men, acted as aforesaid. The soldiers being now partly ashamed of their conduct, and partly fearing they might get into trouble, should the constable refuse to return the warrant, and persist in taking the prisoners under his own custody, began to grow very submissive, promising to be civil and attentive for the future, upon which they were suffered to proceed. On the road, before they arrived at Bodmin, they met Major-General Desborough travelling with some of his forces. The captain of this troop, who was riding in front, recognised G. Fox, and exclaimed with some astonishment, "Oh! Mr. Fox, what do you do here?" Upon his informing him that he was a prisoner, he again asked, "Alack for what?" and on being told "that he was taken up for travelling," "Then," said he, "I will speak to my Lord, and he will set you at liberty." His Lord, however, did not feel inclined to do any such office for the prisoners, being much more concerned about his own horses, lest by this short detention they might take cold; and refusing to interfere, left them to their fate and to the conduct of Captain Keat.

This slighting treatment from one of Cromwell's confidential officers, shows that whatever he might openly profess to

the Quakers, he was not in truth much disposed to protect them; and no doubt he rather feared a people he could not win either by rewards or hypocritical professions, and therefore tacitly acquiesced in their persecution. Which opinion is rather confirmed by the renewed bad conduct of their guard; for the same night they lodged at Bodmin, where Keat forgot his fair promises of amendment, and also all his sorrow on account of his late ill-treatment. At this place, another ruffian intruded himself into their room, instigated thereto by Keat, who abused them shamefully, and threatened them with his drawn sword; the soldiers also behaved very ill, and sat up carousing all the night. After their arrival at Launceston Castle, the singularity of their commitment, and the respectability of their characters, attracted great attention and excited many inquiries in the neighbourhood, so that great numbers of people came to see them at different times, to all of whom George Fox preached and expounded his doctrine in a manner to gain many converts. This unexpected favourable reception of the Quaker tenets caused a great ferment among the Presbyterian faction; the mayor of Bodmin, and the preachers of this sect were extremely irritated during their interviews with the prisoners, because they used thou and thee in their address to them, as well as indiscriminately to all other people; and because they would neither pull off the hat, nor bow the knee before them. "We shall see," said they, "how these unbending Quakers will come off at the assizes," fully expecting, that, at least, the judge would hang them.

The assizes not coming on till the beginning of the year 1656, they laid in prison nine weeks, at a considerable charge for their accommodation; and were then brought up before Chief Justice Glynne, a Welchman. Besides the sheriff's pikemen, they were escorted to the court by a troop of soldiers, as closely guarded as if they had been notorious rebels or some desperate malefactors.

Upon entering the court they stood for some time with their hats on, and the court remaining silent, George Fox was moved to say, "Peace be amongst you."

The judge then asked the jailer who they were, and on being informed they were prisoners, he said, "Why do you not pull off your hats?"

The Quakers stood silent.

Judge. "Put off your hats." Still they remained silent.

Judge. "The court commands you to put off your hats."

G. Fox. "Where did ever any magistrate, king, or judge from Moses to Daniel, command any to put off their hats, when they came before them in their courts, either among the Jews, (the people of God) or among the heathens? And if the law of England doth command any such thing, show me that law either written or printed."

Judge, angrily. "I do not carry my law-books upon my back."

G. Fox. "Tell me then, where it is printed in any statute book that I may read it."

Judge. "Take him away, prevaricator,—I'll ferk him!"

They were then removed out of court, and put among the thieves; but presently afterwards ordered back.

Judge. "Come! where had they any hats from Moses to Daniel? Come, answer me, I have you now fast."

G. Fox. "Thou mayst read in the third chapter of Daniel, that the three children were cast into the fiery furnace by Nebuchadnezzar's command, with their coats, their hose, and their hats on."

This ready and pointed answer silenced the judge, and they were once more ordered away and re-conducted to prison with the same parade of guards with which they came.

These trivial circumstances depict the sour acrimonious spirit of the age, and show how deeply every thing was tinged with this saturnine hue; for neither the ready answer of G. Fox, nor the respectability of his character, nor his known innocence, could move the judge in his favour, so imbued was his mind with the gloomy spirit of the times. The offence, however, was not the outrage of any law; but that these unbending Quakers would neither flatter the spiritual pride, nor bow down before the rigid Presbyterians.

In this instance, the Quaker peculiarity about "hat-wor-

ship," as G. Fox terms the custom, seems to have been carried rather to an extreme. The farther civilization recedes from savage life, the more necessity there appears for the adoption of certain forms of etiquette in civil institutions, without which confusion and disrespect would prevail; nor does there appear any good reason why these forms are only to be drawn from scripture precedents, which present us with habits entirely differing from our own, and unadapted to our climate. And if they offer no instance of the hat being removed in the presence of a superior, they abound with examples of veneration shown by the prostration of the whole body.

There seems to be a wide difference between the compliance with the established etiquette of our public institutions, and the objection urged by the Quakers against the common practice of bowing and uncovering the head, accompanied with the flattering and complimentary style of address at that time so much in use: as, "Sir, your most obedient and devoted servant,"—"Sir, your slave to command," &c., which from being of themselves unmeaning phrases, are objectionable; but when more seriously considered, are, to say the least of them, absurd and degrading, and altogether unworthy the imitation of a Christian. The Society of Friends, by their present conduct, seem to justify our remarks; for many, upon entering a court of law, or other public place, permit or allow the nearest officer to remove the offending beaver.

In the afternoon, they were again brought into court, and while waiting there, G. Fox was so much concerned at witnessing the repeated swearing of jurymen, officers, and witnesses, that he began to distribute a paper he had written against swearing, in which he warned people of its unchristian nature, and entered at length into all his usual arguments and scripture proof against it, which have been already noticed. This paper circulating by degrees through the court, at last found its way up to the bench and into the judge's hands, who ordered the clerk of the court to hand it to George Fox, and ask him if that seditious paper were his writing.

G. Fox. "If they would read it up in open court that he might hear it, if it were his, he would own it, and stand by it."

The court pressed him to look at it, and say, yes, or no, to the question.

G. Fox. "Let it be read, that all the country may hear it, and judge whether there were any sedition in it or no; for if there were, he was willing to suffer for it."

The paper was then read out by the clerk of assize, and afterwards G. Fox told the judge, it was his paper. "He would own it, and so might they too, except they would deny the scripture: for was not this scripture language, the words of Christ and the apostles, which all true Christians ought to obey?"

The reading up of this paper was the very thing he wished for, his grand object, at all times and under all circumstances, being to spread his views and to enlighten the minds of his fellow-beings upon religious truths. After the reading of his paper the court dropped the subject of its seditious import, and again attacked them about their hats, which it appears they had retained upon their heads all this time, and the jailer was now ordered to take them off, which he did, giving them into the prisoners' hands. They then put them on again, and asked the judge and justices, "wherefore they had lain in prison nine weeks, seeing they had nothing to accuse them of beyond wearing their hats?"

Their indictment was now produced, charging them with a string of false accusations, purporting to be treasonable plottings to overthrow the state by force of arms, &c. Major Ceely, who was the prime mover in this charge, appears to have been a conceited busy-body, who was not over-scrupulous in his assertions or evidence to injure the prisoners, or to misrepresent their actions or words.

George Fox, prior to entering upon his defence, repeatedly demanded that their mittimus might be read up in court, which was opposed by the bench, the judge declaring that it should not be read, and G. Fox as strenuously urging that it ought to be; "for if I have done any thing," said he, "wor-

thy of death or of bonds, let all the county know it; seeing it concerns my liberty and my life." After many more words between himself and the judge, it was at last, with some difficulty, accomplished by one of his friends, who read a copy of it, the court preserving profound silence; for all the people were as anxious to hear it, as the judge had been to suppress it. The mittimus charged them with being vagabond persons who could give no account of themselves, or of their motive for coming thither, and who were sent to jail because they refused to give sureties for their appearance, &c..

George Fox then began his defence, "Thou that sayest thou art the Chief Justice of England, and you justices, know, that according to this mittimus, if I had put in sureties, I might have gone whither I pleased; and have carried on the design (if I had had one) with which Major Ceely hath charged me. And if I had spoken those words to him which he hath here declared," alluding to the charge of conspiracy, "judge ye whether bail or mainprize could have been taken in that case." Then turning towards Major Ceely, he said, "when and where did I take thee aside?—If thou art my accuser, why sittest thou on the bench? It is not the place of accusers to sit with the judge. Thou oughtest to come down, and stand by me, and look me in the face. Besides I would ask the judge and justices, whether or no Major Ceely is not guilty of this treason, which he charges against me, in concealing it so long as he hath done? Does he understand his place, either as a soldier or a justice of peace? For he tells you here, that I went aside with him, and told him what design I had in hand, and how serviceable he might be to my design: that I could raise forty thousand men in an hour's time, bring in King Charles, and involve the nation in blood. He said, moreover, he would have aided me out of the country, but I would not go; and therefore he committed me to prison, for want of sureties for my good behaviour, as the mittimus declares. Now do you not plainly see, that Major Ceely is guilty of this plot and treason he talks of, and hath made himself a party to it,

by desiring me to go out of the country, demanding bail of me, and not charging me with this pretended treason till now, nor discovering it? But I deny and abhor his words, and am innocent of his devilish design."

Here the matter was allowed to drop; for the evidence was so absurd and contradictory, that the judge was obliged to abandon this charge, as he had already done the others; and Major Ceely, instead of entrapping George Fox, had like to have run his own neck into a noose. The major however was weak enough, after this specimen of the prisoner's acute judgment, to stand up in the court and falsely accuse him of another offence.

Major Ceely. "May it please you, my Lord, this man struck me, and gave me such a blow as I never had in my life!"

G. Fox. "Major Ceely, art thou a justice and a major of a troop of horse, and tellest the judge in the face of the court and country, that I, a prisoner, struck thee, and gave thee such a blow as thou never hadst in thy life? What! art thou not ashamed? Prithee, Major Ceely, where did I strike thee? and who is witness for that? who was by?"

As the charge of treason presented the court with a specimen of the major's inventive powers, so this dreadful blow only exhibited the figurative turn of his mind; for after all, it was nothing more than a simple reply from George Fox to the major, who upon passing him in the Castle Green at Launceston, and accosting him with a "How do you do, Mr. Fox, your servant, sir." To which G. Fox replied, "Major Ceely take heed of hypocrisy and a rotten heart; for when came I to be thy master, or thou my servant? Do servants use to cast their masters into prison?" The judge finding none of the accusations tenable, ordered them to prison, and fined them twenty marks a-piece, for not taking off their hats in court, and to be imprisoned till they paid the fine.

The assizes being now ended, and the prisoners refusing upon principle to pay a fine they considered most illegal, since nothing had been proved against them to justify their apprehension, much less their imprisonment; and judging

from the malice of their enemies, that they were not likely to be liberated very soon, demanded a free prison, and told the jailer they should discontinue to pay him for the hire of his room, for which they had hitherto given him seven shillings a week each person, as well as seven shillings a week for each of their horses. Upon this notification, the jailer, who was an abandoned character, and had been twice branded with a hot iron as a thief, (as well as his wife and the under-jailer) shut them up in a foul dungeon, called Doomsdale, which was noisome and pestilential, on account of its being the common sewer of the prison, the floor of which was so thick in mire, that it was over their shoes, and afforded no place where they could either sit or lie down. In this dreadful place they were denied by their exasperated keeper even a little straw, or a light, but some kindly disposed people of the town hearing of their sad condition, brought them both a light and a few handfuls of straw, which they burnt to purify the air. The smoke arising upon this occasion penetrated through the chinks of the floor above, and found its way into the chamber occupied by the under-jailer and some thieves, who immediately began to revenge themselves, by pouring down upon them, through the chinks, whatever they could obtain to annoy them, and make their condition still more deplorable, at the same time abusing them with the foulest language. In this place they were sometimes left in want both of food and water, owing to the brutality of the jailer and his wife, who often abused and beat those who brought them a few necessities and comforts. The whole particulars of the infamous treatment to which they were subjected, from the misconduct of their unfeeling keepers, are too offensive for recital, and when such abuses no longer exist in our public jails are best left untold.

We, who live in the middle of the nineteenth century, when the impartial administration of justice extends to all ranks of society, and when the accommodations of our prisons are so vigilantly looked into, can scarcely credit that three respectable Englishmen should have been thus arrested in the progress of their lawful travels—thus deprived of their

freedom in violation of the laws—and thus subjected to the abuse of such a jailer, without having obtained some redress from the interference of a respectable neighbouring magistrate. Men were so carried away with the heat of religious and political disputes, in those days, that our most valued laws and liberties were violated with impunity, and as long as the prevailing party escaped scatheless, they cared not how they were *perverted* to afflict their opponents, forgetting that the same precedents might be employed against themselves, whenever the fickle scale of fortune turned the beam in favour of their enemies. How opposite is our present condition; for our rights and liberties are now so well understood and so tenaciously guarded, that factious demagogues, by availing themselves of the quirks and subtleties of the law, are enabled to traverse the land, spreading discontent, and sometimes sedition, and often so unsettling the minds of the labouring classes, as to excite them to outrage, and tumult, and unlawful combinations; and what is still more remarkable, that some individuals calling themselves followers of George Fox, should be found acting in concert with men of this class.

In this pestilential dungeon they were retained till the next quarter sessions at Bodmin, when, by sending a remonstrance against the conduct of the jailer, and stating their hard fate to the magistrates, an order was issued granting them liberty to cleanse out the place and to purchase whatever necessaries they wanted. Their peaceable conduct soon afterwards obtained for them a better apartment, and also the liberty of walking in the castle-green.

The peculiar hardship of their case had now attracted general commiseration among the respectable people of the town and the surrounding country, and thus their attention was naturally called to the cause of their imprisonment, and to a consideration of their peculiar doctrine and tenets. Many people on this account attended their religious meetings, held either in the jail, or upon the castle-green, and not a few of them, struck by the energy of G. Fox's character, and the integrity and simplicity of his manners, returned home Quakers, being convinced by his apt and powerful ap-

peals to the scriptures. Hugh Peters, one of Cromwell's chaplains, told the Protector, "They could not do George Fox a greater service for the spreading of his doctrine in Cornwall, than to imprison him there." Which saying, as we have seen, was fully verified by the result. G. Fox now drew up a statement of their hard case and cruel treatment, which he sent up to Oliver Cromwell, who ordered Captain Fox, the governor of Pendennis Castle, to inquire into the affair, and to punish the soldiers if they had struck them while in their custody. Captain Keat was cashiered for his conduct, and his kinsman was told "that if G. Fox should change his principles and prosecute him, he might take the extremity of the law against him, and might recover round damages." This reproof shows the cowardly feelings which influenced their oppressors, and how ready they were to attack a harmless and defenceless people, whose principles forbade them to retaliate.

For some new offence their inhuman jailer was dismissed his office, and was soon after condemned to occupy the same dungeon where he had so shamefully abused the Quakers. Here he was put into irons and beaten, and told, "to remember his former wicked conduct to innocent men, and that the same measure he had meted out to others, should now be meted out to him." He died in prison very poor, and left his wife and family in much distress.

About this time some Quaker went to the Protector and offered up himself to lie in prison, even in Doomsdale, for George Fox, provided he would liberate him. Cromwell replied, "that to do so was contrary to law, and therefore he could not comply with his request," but he was so much struck with the disinterested affection of this offer, that turning round to his council, he said, "which of you would do as much for me, were I in the same predicament?" He then sent General Desborough to liberate G. Fox and his friends; but as they refused either to pay any fines, or to promise to go home and discontinue preaching, pleading their just rights as innocent freemen to dispose of their persons as they pleased; he left them in prison, where they remained till liberated by Colonel Bennett, the 13th of July, 1656.

Upon a general warrant being issued out from the sessions at Exeter, in express terms, "for apprehending all Quakers," and for setting watches to take them up on the highways, he wrote two papers to the magistrates, in which he stated: "And whereas in your said warrant you speak of the Quakers spreading seditious books and papers; I answer, they whom ye in scorn call Quakers, have no seditious books or papers; but their books are against sedition, and seditious men, and seditious books, and seditious teachers, and seditious ways. Thus ye have numbered them, who are honest men, godly men, holy men, men that fear God, among beggars, rogues, and vagabonds; thus putting no difference between the precious and the vile. You are not fit to judge, who have set up your bills, and armed your men, to stand up together to battle against the innocent people, the lambs of Christ, who have not lifted up a hand against you, &c. Therefore, this is the word of the Lord God to you, and a charge to you all, in the presence of the living God of heaven and earth: every one of you being enlightened with a light that cometh from Christ, the Saviour of people's souls; to this light, all take heed, that with it you may see Christ from whom the light cometh, and may see Him to be your Saviour, by whom the world was made, who saith, 'Learn of me.' But if ye hate this light, ye hate Christ, who doth enlighten you all, that, through him ye might believe. But not believing in the light, nor bringing your deeds to the light, which will make them manifest and reprove them, this is your condemnation, even the light. Remember, you are warned in your lifetime, for this light is your way of salvation, if you walk in it; and this light is your condemnation, if you reject and hate it," &c., &c. He concludes, "The Jews who were in the letter, out of the life, persecuted them that were in the life of that which they professed in the letter; so now do you persecute them that are in the life, and are yourselves strangers to it, as your fruits make appear. You have numbered the people of God amongst transgressors; but have you imprisoned any of the rogues and transgressors you speak of? You have imprisoned the innocent, and let the others go free.

"GEORGE FOX."

CHAPTER IX.

1656—1658. His second interview with the Protector—Publishes a defence of some of his tenets—Travels into Wales and Scotland—His argument against the Calvinistic doctrine of Election and Reprobation—Quakers cursed and excommunicated by the Scotch Presbyterians—Summoned before the Council at Edinburgh—Returns to England.

“And above all things have fervent charity among yourselves: for charity shall cover the multitude of sins.”—1 Peter iv. 8.

“Beloved, let us love one another: for love is of God; and every one that loveth is born of God and knoweth God. He that loveth not, knoweth not God: for God is love.”—1 John iv. 7, 8.

Undaunted by his late sufferings and long imprisonment in Cornwall, he resumed his ministerial labours immediately upon his enlargement, and travelled up to London with his companions, passing through Exeter, Bristol, and Wiltshire, and holding meetings at all suitable places; for his notoriety was now so great, and the desire to hear him so prevalent, that their meetings sometimes amounted to several thousands, and were often held in orchards or barns, for want of more convenient accommodation. At Exeter, he was moved to visit James Naylor, who in company with many others, was there imprisoned for unbecoming and infatuated conduct. His principal concern was to reprove Naylor and his mistaken companions, who by giving way to heated imaginations, had brought a great reproach upon the Quakers; for which they were afterwards disowned by the Society. Upon this occasion, its character as a religious body was unjustly stigmatized on account of the fanatical errors of a few individuals. G. Fox says, “So after I had been warring with the world, there was now a wicked spirit risen up among Friends to war against. I admonished him and his company.”

James Naylor was one of those examples of human frailty more entitled to our pity than execration. He had formerly been an Independent, and had served as quarter-master under General Lambert, in the parliamentary forces. Upon joining the Quakers he soon became an eminent minister among them, and was distinguished for his piety and zeal; and was a man, "although of limited education, yet of very comprehensive intellect;" but through unwatchfulness and an overheated imagination fell into strange errors, for which he was afterwards restored to a just sense of his own lamentable failings, through deep suffering and sincere repentance. He was arraigned for blasphemy, and was publicly examined before the sainted parliament of the Commonwealth, and by them condemned to ignominious and cruel torments; to which judgment they had been urged by the rancorous bigotry of the Presbyterian and Independent preachers, who upon this occasion furiously assailed their defenceless victim; hoping, in his ruin, to accomplish the destruction of the whole sect, and exhibiting throughout their whole conduct in this affair, a sad example of the unforgiving and unchristian spirit which predominated among these pharisaical professors of religion.

The travellers entering London by Hyde Park, met the Protector in his coach, attended by his life-guard, and surrounded by a great concourse of people. George Fox immediately rode up to the coach-side, from whence he would have been repelled by the guards, had not Cromwell caught sight of him, and beckoned him to approach. He then rode by the coach-side, and spoke to him, "declaring," as he says, "what the Lord gave me to say to him, of his condition and of the sufferings of Friends in the nation; showing him how contrary this persecution was to Christ, and his apostles, and to Christianity." At the park gate of St. James's, they parted, and Cromwell invited him to come to his house. The next day, Mary Sanders, a Quaker, and one of the domestics in attendance upon the Protector's wife, called upon him and said, that her master, on his return from his ride, had informed her of his arrival in town.

In the course of a few days he had an interview with the

Protector at Whitehall, accompanied by Edward Pyot. G. Fox was very urgent on behalf of the Friends, stating how unjustly they were persecuted, and how great were their sufferings throughout his dominions, for conscience' sake alone. He pleaded their right, in common with all peaceable subjects, to Cromwell's protection, and finished by referring him "to the Light of Christ, who enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world." Cromwell asserted that this light was a natural light, a tenet held at that time by most of the sectarian professors, which opinion G. Fox confuted by quotations from scripture: "at last," he says, "the power of the Lord God arose in me, and I was moved in it to bid him lay down his crown at the feet of Jesus." This interview took place in a room wherein was a large table; and as George Fox enforced upon the Protector the necessity for his so doing, Cromwell came up to him, and setting himself upon the table, sportingly said, "He would be as high as he was," and in the same light frame of mind continued to defend his opinion. George Fox remarks, "that the Lord's power, however, came over him, so that when he came to his wife and other company, he said, 'I never parted so from the Quakers before;' for he was judged in himself."

Upon leaving this audience, he found himself unexpectedly surrounded by many great personages, one of whom began to attack his doctrine of the "Light of Christ," speaking against it and against the Truth, upon which "he felt moved to slight him for speaking thus lightly of the things of God." One of the company observing his conduct, and supposing that he was not aware in whose presence he was, told him, it was the Major-General of Northamptonshire that had addressed him. Upon which information, G. Fox exclaimed, "What! our old persecutor, he that has persecuted and sent so many of our friends to prison, and who is a shame to Christianity and religion! I am glad I have met with thee!" He then began to rebuke him sharply for his unjust doings, the particulars of which he laid open so pointedly, that the Major-General feeling ashamed of his conduct, "slunk away." This instance evinces the intrepid boldness with which he

reproved evil deeds, and shows that no presence daunted him in the faithful performance of his duty.

His stay in the capital was this time very short; for he soon again resumed his travels, prompted by the desire to visit those meetings he had established in various parts of the kingdom, being anxious to confirm the principles of those already united to him, as well as to increase their numbers by farther "convincements." With this intent he accompanied Edward Pyot through the midland counties into Yorkshire, and afterwards, through the southern and western counties as far as Exeter, and from thence to Bristol.

The doctrine of George Fox and his followers was directly opposed to all priestcraft, whatever was the shape it assumed, whether episcopal or non-episcopal. It upheld the gospel dispensation in its original purity, which is to lay "the axe to the root of the tree;" and it allowed of no construction upon the text, beyond what the plainest grammatical sense would admit of. It impartially exposed all those systems which made a trade of religion, by fearlessly stripping off that mark of hypocrisy, under which lurked the cupidity and eager desire of power, of many a high and rigid professor of sanctity. This class of preachers fearing the religious principles of the Quakers, because they attacked their worldly interests, and despising their numbers, industriously spread abroad all manner of evil reports and gross misrepresentations, charging them with fanatical and heretical opinions. The pen of G. Fox was therefore again called forth to refute those charges, and justify the principles of the Society of Friends. It is perhaps one of the earliest written expositions of their tenets, and well worth a perusal; but our limits will not allow of its insertion at full. After refuting the charge brought against the Quakers, that they were the false prophets, antichrists, and deceivers, that should come in the last days, he adduces his arguments against tithes, touches upon the abstaining from meats, the observance of days, circumcision, and water baptism, and lastly, upon the rite of the sacrament as observed by the different Christian communions, which ceremony he contends was neither observed, nor held by the apostles as a

religious rite, but as a commemoration of our Saviour's sacrifice: and therefore he exhorts people not to build upon it as a rite, which could of itself effect any sanctification in them, since the heart is alone purified by the grace of God, and he concludes his remarks in these words: "Now ye that eat this outward bread and wine in remembrance of Christ's death, and have your fellowship in that, will ye come no nearer to Christ's death, than to take bread and wine in remembrance of it? After ye have eaten in remembrance of his death ye must come into his death, and die with him, as the apostle did, if ye will live with him. This is a nearer and farther advanced state, to be with him in the fellowship of his death, than only to take bread and wine in remembrance of it. You must have fellowship with Christ in his sufferings; if ye will reign with him, ye must suffer with him; if ye will live with him, ye must die with him; and if ye die with him, ye must be buried with him; and being buried with him in the true baptism, ye also will rise with him. Then having suffered with him, died with him, and been buried with him, if ye are risen with Christ, 'seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God.' Eat the bread which comes down from above, which is not outward bread, and drink the cup of salvation which he gives in his kingdom, which is not outward wine. And then there will not be a looking at the things that are seen, as outward bread and wine and water are; for, says the apostle, 'The things that are seen are temporal, but the things that are not seen are eternal.'

"So here are many states and conditions to be gone through, before people come to see and partake of that which cometh down from above.

"For, first, there was a taking of the outward bread and wine in remembrance of Christ's death. This was temporary, and not of necessity; but at their liberty, 'as oft as ye do it.'

"Secondly, there must be a coming into his death, and suffering with Christ; and this is of necessity to salvation; and not temporary, but continual: there must be a dying daily.

"Thirdly, a being buried with Christ. Fourthly, a rising with Christ. Fifthly, after they are risen with Christ, then a seeking those things which are above; a seeking the bread which comes down from heaven, and a feeding on that and having a fellowship in that.

"For outward bread, wine, and water, are from below, and are visible and temporal: but saith the apostle, 'We look not at things that are seen, for the things that are seen are temporal, but the things that are not seen are eternal.' The fellowship that stands in the use of bread, wine, water, circumcision, outward temple, and things seen, will have an end; but the fellowship that stands in the gospel, the power of God, which was before the devil was, and which brings life and immortality to light, by which people may see over the devil that hath darkened them, this fellowship is eternal and will stand. And all that are in it seek that from above, and are settled in the eternal mystery of the fellowship of the gospel, which is hidden from all eyes that look only at visible things. The apostle told the Corinthians, who were in disorder about water, bread, and wine, that he 'desired to know nothing amongst them, but Jesus Christ, and him crucified.' "

1657. In this year, his spiritual labours were directed to Wales, and he travelled through this principality in company with John-ap-John, a Welchman. In Radnorshire, they held a large meeting in the open air, which from the multitudes assembled, "bore resemblance to a leaguer;" for a great desire to hear him prevailed among all classes in Wales, so much had the fame of his preaching been noised about. Upon this occasion, many of the surrounding gentry attended, all sitting on their horses. G. Fox stood up on a chair and addressed this multitude for nearly three hours, opening to them his doctrine of the "Inward Light," expounding the parables of our Saviour, and answering all objections. "All were bound down under the power of God, and made no opposition. The people parted peaceably with great satisfaction, many of them saying they had never heard such a sermon before, nor the scriptures so opened."

At another similarly great assembly, held in a close near Leominster, to which came "six congregational preachers," George Fox was called upon to refute the strange notion, that the Holy Spirit was a made light. Some time after the gathering of the meeting, the clergyman of Leominster, by name Tombs, came to it just at the moment when George Fox was expounding the nature of the "heavenly and divine light of Christ." Tombs stood up on a chair, and maintained the extravagant opinion that this light was both a natural and a made light, which, as we have before mentioned, was the prevailing notion among the class of preachers who now occupied the pulpits of the Episcopal church. George Fox then desired the people to take out their bibles, and turning round to the priest, he asked him, "Whether he did affirm that was a created, natural, and made light, to which John, a man sent from God, bore witness, when he said, 'In him (the Word) was life, and the life was the light of man,' John i. 4. Dost thou affirm and mean, that this light here spoken of, was a created, natural, made light?" He said, yes. George Fox then showed by the scriptures, that the natural, made, created light, is the outward light in the outward firmament, proceeding from the sun, moon, and stars. "And dost thou affirm," said he, "that God sent John to bear witness to the light of the sun, moon, and stars?" Then Tombs queried, "Did I say so?" George Fox replied, "Didst thou not say it was a natural created, made light, that John bore witness unto? If thou dost not like thy words, take them again, and mend them."

He then told the people to turn to the passage in their bibles, which he read out to them, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by Him, and without Him was not any thing made that was made." (So all natural created lights were made by Christ the Word.) "In Him was life, and the life was the light of men: and that was the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." Christ also says of himself, John viii. 12, "I am the light of the world,"

and bids them "believe in the light."—John xii. 36. And God said of him by the prophet Isaiah, xlix. 6,—“I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayst be my salvation to the ends of the earth.” So Christ in his light is saving. The apostle also says, “The light which shined in their hearts, was to give them the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ: which was their treasure in their earthen vessels.”—2 Cor. iv. 6, 7.

The strange interpretation of this passage by Tombs, and by men of his stamp, reminds us that the Church of England had long ceased to exist; that its liturgy had been supplanted by the Presbyterian directory, and its pulpits dishonoured by conceited pretenders. This Tombs was an Anabaptist preacher, who, during the changes of these unsettled times, had managed by some means to thrust himself into the living and parsonage at Leominster. As we have shown, he was an empty and wordy man; and when he found himself refuted by argument adduced from scripture, he tried to avail himself of the civil power in order to suppress his opponent; and called out to a magistrate, who was present, “to take that man away.” George Fox was not, however, so easily to be put down, but replied, “Priest Tombs, deceive not thyself, thou art not in the pulpit now, nor in thy old mass-house; but we are in the fields.” The people then began to accuse him of some paltry transactions in sueing them for the tithe of eggs, and he was glad to make his retreat.

At Tenby, as the travellers were riding up the street, a justice of the peace came out of his house and invited them to come in and stay there; and on the Sunday morning, the mayor, and his wife, with several others “of the chief of the town,” came to the meeting held at this Justice’s house. John-ap-John, however, went to the church, and standing up there with his hat on, the governor of the town ordered him to be taken out and thrown into prison. On the following morning, George Fox was summoned to appear before the governor, and as soon as he was come, he remonstrated with him for putting his friend into prison on account of his hat, upon which the governor asked him, “Whether he owned

Election and Reprobation?" "Yes," said George Fox, "and thou art in reprobation." Being greatly exasperated by this reply, he declared, "He would send him to prison also, till he proved it." George Fox told him, "he would prove that quickly, if he would confess the truth;" and then asked him, "whether wrath, fury, rage, and persecution, were not marks of reprobation? for he that was born of the flesh persecuted him that was born of the Spirit; but Christ and his disciples never persecuted nor imprisoned any." The governor then frankly confessed, that he had in him too much wrath, haste, and passion; and when George Fox told him, "that the spirit of Esau, the first birth was up in him, and not that of Jacob, the second birth;" he was "so overcome and reached by the Lord's power," that he acknowledged it was true, liberated John-ap-John, and pressinglly invited G. Fox to stay and dine with him. Soon after this interview they left the town, and were accompanied about half-a-mile on their way by the mayor and his wife, the justice and his wife, and "divers other friends of the town;" and before they parted, George Fox "was moved of the Lord to kneel down with them, and pray to the Lord to preserve them." "So after I had recommended them," he says, "to the Lord Jesus Christ, their Saviour and free Teacher, we passed away in the Lord's power, and He had the glory."

He complains that in several places they found the people wicked, thievish, and false; inclined something to the Independent persuasion, pilfering even the provender from the horses. On one occasion, they were benighted at a little inn, "very poor, but very cheap;" for the whole cost of their own entertainment and of their horses, only amounted to eight pence; but as their horses refused to eat their oats, we may guess that their own fare was not very sumptuous. At another place, he says, "I turned but my back to the man that was giving oats to my horse, and looking back again, I observed he was filling his pockets with the provender. A wicked people, to rob the poor dumb creature of his food. I would rather they had robbed me."

One day as they were travelling on the road, they were

overtaken by some person of consideration, who, from their singular appearance, determined in his own mind to have had them apprehended at the next town for highwaymen, as he afterwards informed them; but before they arrived thither, George Fox was moved to speak to him, and what he said so reached his heart, that he suddenly changed his opinion, invited them to his own house, and entertained them with hospitality. He and his wife desired to be furnished with scriptural proofs of their principles, a service G. Fox readily performed for them, and supplied them "with scriptures enough," which their host wrote down, and "was convinced by the Spirit of God in his own heart, and by the scriptures, which were a confirmation to him."

At Dolgelly he had a disputation with two Independent preachers in the street, amidst a large concourse of people. These two men advanced the same strange notion about the light spoken of in John, as before noticed, and G. Fox taking out his bible, adduced the same arguments he had so often employed before, concluding with these words, "The same that is called the life in Christ, is called the light in man. This is our heavenly, divine light, which lets men see their evil words and deeds, and shows them all their sins; (if they would attend to it,) would bring them to Christ, from whom it comes, that they might know Him to save them from their sin, and to blot it out. This light shined in the darkness in their hearts, and the darkness in them would not comprehend it, but in those hearts where God had commanded it to shine out of darkness, it gave unto such the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ their Saviour." He then expounded the scriptures largely to them, "directing them to the Spirit of God in their hearts, which would reveal the mysteries in the scriptures to them, and would lead them into all truth, as they became subject thereunto."

The people listened to his discourse with great attention, and at the end of it, many of them accompanied him to the inn, and "rejoiced in the truth that had been declared to them, and that they were turned to the light and spirit in themselves, by which they might see their sin, and know salvation

from it." When G. Fox and his companion left the town, these people "were so affected, that they lifted up their hands and blessed the Lord for their coming."

From Beaumaris they had to pass over in the ferry-boat to the mainland, and finding upon their arrival at the water-side an assemblage of market people, they were moved to declare unto them "the word of life and everlasting truth." As soon as the boat was ready, "a company of wild gentlemen, as they called them, got into it," whose manners they found very rude, and far from gentle, as they did every thing they could to prevent John-ap-John's horse from entering the boat. G. Fox says, "I rode to the boat's side, and told them how unmanly and unchristian their carriage was; and as I spoke, I leaped my horse into the boat among them, thinking John's horse would have followed, when he had seen mine go in before him; but the water being pretty deep, John could not get his horse into the boat. Wherefore I leaped out again on horseback into the water." Here they had to wait three hours for the boat's return, about two o'clock in the afternoon, and then had forty-two miles to ride: and by the time they had paid for their passage, they had only a groat left between them.

At Wrexham, he says, "one called a lady sent for me, who kept a preacher in her house. I went to her house, but found both her and her preacher very light and airy, too light to receive the weighty things of God. In her lightness she came and asked me if she should cut my hair: but I was moved to reprove her, and bid her cut down the corruptions in herself with the sword of the Spirit of God. So after I had admonished her to be more grave and sober, we passed away: and afterwards in her frothy mind, she made her boast that 'she came behind me and cut off the curl of my hair;' but she spoke falsely."

From Wales they proceeded through Liverpool to Manchester, and it being the time of the sessions, many "rude people" were assembled there. Many of them followed the Quakers into their meeting-house, and began to assail G. Fox, by throwing at him coals, clods, stones, and water;

"yet the Lord's power," he says, "bore me up over them, that they could not strike me down." Upon some one of them informing the magistrates, they sent the constables to bring him before them, who entering the meeting while he was preaching, pulled him down, and "haled him into the court," which he found all noise and confusion. Wherefore he asked them, "Where were the magistrates, that they did not keep the people civil?" Some of the justices said they were magistrates. I asked them, "Why then did they not appease the people, and keep them sober?" for one cried, "I'll swear," and another cried, "I'll swear." I declared to the justices how we were abused in our meeting by the rude people, who threw stones, clods, dirt, and water; and how I was haled out of the meeting, and brought thither, contrary to the instrument of government, which said, "none should be molested in their meetings, that professed God and owned the Lord Jesus Christ;" which I did. So the truth came over them, that when one of the rude fellows cried, "he would swear," one of the justices checked him, saying, "What will you swear? hold your tongue." A constable was ordered to take him to his lodging, and the next morning they departed, and proceeded through Lancashire to Swarthmore. In this neighbourhood, he remained about a fortnight, and availing himself of the leisure afforded by two days' rest at his old friend's Judge Fell, he wrote an epistle to his own followers, exhorting them to remain faithful to their principles, notwithstanding the fierce persecution of their oppressors, encouraging them to endure all things with patience, and to trust solely to the comforting support of God's Holy Spirit under their many afflictions. He wrote also an address to the people generally, reproving them for their unchristian deportment in persecuting an innocent people, who instead of wishing evil to any, were doing all in their power to serve their fellow-creatures, both in example and precept, by awakening their minds to the great work of salvation, and by pointing out to them the sure means of obtaining it. Both letters are well worth the perusal, but too long for our limits. He took this opportunity of renew

ing his acquaintance with John Wilkinson, an Episcopal clergyman, with whom he had had several communications during his former stay in this part of the kingdom. By his powerful preaching at that time, George Fox had made so deep an impression on the minds of nearly all this clergyman's hearers, that they had left the church, and joined themselves to the Quakers: so that he had not, at this time, more than six or seven people left to him, out of three parishes near Cockermouth, of which he held the livings. This small flock, with their pastor, now followed the example of their neighbours, and joined the Quakers; and John Wilkinson gave up his church preferments, and became an eminent preacher among the Friends.

Accompanied by Robert Widders of Lancashire, his next concern was to visit Scotland. On their journey, they held meetings at all suitable places, and upon their entering Scotland, declaimed boldly against the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination, so much in vogue with the Presbyterian church. He says, "now the priests had frightened the people with the doctrine of Election and Reprobation, telling them 'that God had ordained the greatest part of men and women for hell; that let them pray, or preach, or sing, or do what they will, it was all to no purpose, if they were ordained for hell; that God had a certain number which were elected for heaven, and let them do what they would, as David an adulterer, and Paul a persecutor, yet elected vessels for heaven. So the fault was not at all in the creature, less or more; but God had ordained it.so.' I was led to open to the people the falseness and folly of their priests' doctrines, and showed them the priests had abused those scriptures which they had brought and quoted to them, as in Jude and other places. For whereas they said, there was no fault at all in the creature, I showed them that they whom Jude speaks of, to wit, Cain, Korah, and Balaam, who, he says, were ordained of old for condemnation, the fault was in them. For did not God warn Cain and Balaam, and put the question to Cain, 'If thou doest well, shalt thou not be accepted?' And did not the Lord bring Korah out of Egypt and his company ;

yet did he not gainsay both God, and his law, and his prophet Moses? Here people might see that there was a fault in Cain, Korah, and Balaam, and so there is in all that go in their ways. For if they who are called Christians, resist the gospel, as Korah did the law; if they err from the Spirit of God as Balaam did, and do evil as Cain did, is not here a fault? which fault is in themselves, and is the cause of their reprobation, and not God. Doth not Christ say, 'Go preach the gospel to all nations?' which is the gospel of salvation. He would not have sent them to all nations, to preach the gospel of salvation, if the greatest part of men had been ordained for hell. Was not Christ a propitiation for the sins of the whole world; for those that become reprobates, as well as for the saints? He died for all men, the ungodly as well as the godly, as the apostle bears witness, 2 Cor. v. 15; Rom. v. 6. And he 'enlightens every man that cometh into the world,' that through Him they might all believe. And Christ bids them believe in the light; but all they that hate the light, which Christ bids all believe in, are reprobated. Again, 'the manifestation of the Spirit of God is given to every man to profit withal;' but they that vex, quench, and grieve it, are in the reprobation; and the fault is in them, as it is also in them that hate his light. The apostle saith, 'the grace of God which brings salvation, hath appeared unto all men, teaching us that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously and godly, in the present world,' Tit. ii. 11, 12. Now all that live ungodly, and in the lust of the world, turn this grace of God into wantonness, and walk despitefully against it, and so deny God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, that bought them: the fault is in all those, that so turn from the grace of God, and walk despitefully against that which would bring their salvation and save them out of the reprobation. But the priests, it seems, can see no fault in such as deny God, and the Lord Jesus Christ that bought them, such as deny his light, which they should believe in, and his grace, which would teach them to live godly, and which would bring them their salvation. Now all that believe in the light of Christ, as He commands,

are in the election, and sit under the teaching of the grace of God, which brings their salvation. But such as turn this grace into wantonness, are in the reprobation; and such as hate the light, are in the condemnation. Therefore, I exhorted all the people to believe in the light, as Christ commands, and own the grace of God, their free Teacher, and it would assuredly bring them their salvation; for it is sufficient. Many other scriptures were opened concerning reprobation, and the eyes of the people were opened, and a spring of life rose up among them."

The above passage is so clear, and so ably refutes the dreadful Calvinistic doctrine of election and reprobation, that it requires no apology for its insertion. The circulation of these arguments produced a great sensation among the Presbyterians, so that great numbers joined with the Quakers, and meetings began to be established in various parts of Scotland, to the great annoyance of their clergy, who when they heard of George Fox's arrival, cried out, "that he would spoil all, for," said they, "he had already spoiled all the honest men and women in England" (so according to their own account, the worst were left to them.) Upon this they gathered great assemblies of priests together, and drew up a number of curses to be read in their several steeple-houses, to which all the people should say, Amen. Three of these curses are given by G. Fox, with remarks upon them: the rest, he says, may be read in the book, entitled *The Scotch Priests' Principles*. They place the Presbyterian Christianity of that day in a most unfavourable light, and show how deeply it was imbued with the sour persecuting spirit of popery.

1st, "Cursed is he that saith, every man hath a light within him sufficient to lead him to salvation: and let all the people say, Amen." G. Fox observes, "Christ saith, 'Believe in the light, that ye may become children of the light.' 'And ye do well,' saith the apostle, 'that ye take heed unto the light that shines in the dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in your hearts.' So the light is sufficient to lead into the day-star."

2d, "Cursed is he that saith, faith is without sin: and let all the people say, Amen." G. Fox, "Faith is the gift of God; and every gift of God is pure. The faith, of which Christ is the author, is precious, divine, without sin."

3d, "Cursed is he that denieth the Sabbath-day; and let all the people say, Amen." G. Fox, "In this last they make the people curse themselves; for on the Sabbath-day (which is the seventh-day of the week) they kept markets and fairs, and so brought the curse upon their own heads." The bigoted spirit of these priests would have excluded all mankind from heaven, unless they consented to obtain it through the medium of their prescriptions; and happy will it be for mankind, when such uncharitable and unchristian feelings shall no longer exist in the world.

At Badcow, the Quaker doctrine of the "Inward Light" was so virulently assailed by an Independent preacher, that every time he ascended into his pulpit, he bitterly declaimed against it. At last, his rage carried him so far beyond all bounds, that one Sunday, after ascending his pulpit, he cursed this light, and immediately dropped down senseless; and in this alarming state, was carried out of the church, laid upon a tombstone, and with much difficulty resuscitated; but never after recovered his right mind. An awful instance of the truth of our Saviour's words, "Verily I say unto you, all sins shall be forgiven unto the sons of men, and blasphemies wherewith soever they shall blaspheme; but he that shall blaspheme against the Holy Ghost hath never forgiveness, but is in danger of eternal damnation."—Mark iii. 28, 29.

In Scotland, he found many of the "religious professors" to be wordy, conceited men, prone to "jangle and dispute:" often coming to the religious meetings of the Quakers, and disturbing them with their frivolous disputations. Upon one occasion, at Leith, several Baptists came to the meeting, and behaved disorderly, and one of them said, he would dispute with G. Fox; and for argument's sake, would deny there was a God! G. Fox told him, "He might be one of those fools, that said in his heart: 'there is no God;' but he should know him in the day of his judgment." This retort sent the Baptist quickly out of the meeting.

Upon his arrival at Edinburgh, he was summoned before the council; for strange rumours and reports had been sent to this body by many of the Presbyterian clergy, whose doctrines he had overthrown, in his progress through the country.

Thursday, 8th day of October, 1657, at His Highness' council in Scotland.

Ordered,

That George Fox do appear before the council on Tuesday, the 13th day of October next, in the forenoon.

E. DOWNING, Clerk of the Council.

At first, he suspected the authenticity of the document; but finding upon inquiry that it was a real order, when the day arrived, he attended the council, and waited for some time in a great room, where many people entered to look at him. "After a while, the door-keeper had him into the council-chamber: and as he was going, took off his hat." G. Fox asked him, "Why he did so? and who was there, that he might not go in with his hat on?" telling him, "he had been before the Protector with his hat on." The man, however, hung up his hat, and led him into the council. Nothing being said to him, he stood quiet for some time, and then was moved of the Lord to say, "Peace be among you. Wait in the fear of God, that ye may receive his wisdom from above, by which all things were made and created; that by it ye may all be ordered, and may order all things under your hands to God's glory." They asked him, "What was the occasion of his coming into that nation?" G. Fox, "I came to visit the seed of God, which had been long in bondage under corruption; that all in the nation who professed the scriptures, the words of Christ, of the prophets and apostles, might come to the light, spirit, and power which they were in who gave them forth; that in and by the Spirit they might understand the scriptures, and know God and Christ aright, have fellowship with them, and one with another." "They asked him, "Whether he had any

outward business there?" upon being told, "Nay;" they then inquired, "How long he intended to stay in that country?" G. Fox, "I could say little to that; my time was not to be long, yet in my freedom in the Lord, I stood in the will of Him that sent me." He was then ordered to withdraw, but was soon after had in again, and told, "He must depart the nation of Scotland by that day week." He asked them, "Why? What have I done? What was my transgression, that they passed such a sentence upon me to depart?" He was told, "they would not dispute with him, they would not hear him." G. Fox, "Pharaoh heard Moses and Aaron, yet he was a heathen; and Herod heard John the Baptist; and they should not be worse than these." The council, "Withdraw, withdraw." He was then led out by the door-keeper, and returned to his inn in the city, where he continued to remain for several days, and addressed a long letter to the council, expostulating with them for their uncharitable conduct in banishing him, an innocent man, who only sought their spiritual advancement and eternal good. He says, "when this was delivered, and read among them, some of them, as I heard, were troubled at what they had done, being made sensible that they would not like to be so served themselves. But it was not long before they that banished me, were banished themselves, or glad to get away, who would not do good in the day when they had power, nor suffer others that would."

Notwithstanding the order to depart the county, he still remained at Edinburgh and its neighbourhood, upon hearing that the Friends he had established at a place called Heads, upon his approach to the city, were suffering much from the persecutions of the Presbyterian priests, who had excommunicated them from their church, and had interdicted all their neighbours either to deal with them or to furnish them with food or drink, imprecating bitter curses upon all such as had compassion upon the Quakers, or any communication whatever with them. To the great credit of the civil power, these proceedings were soon stopped by Colonel Ashfield, a justice of the peace. The colonel himself

some time afterwards joined the Quakers, became a preacher among them, and lived and died in profession with them. In the Highlands they met with no encouragement, and were soon driven back. G. Fox says, "the Highlanders were so devilish, they had liked to have spoiled us and our horses; for they ran at us with pitch-forks; but through the Lord's goodness we escaped them, being preserved by his power."

At a market-town, near "Johnston's," a meeting was appointed by the desire of the officers and soldiers quartered there, to be held at the Town Hall; but the magistrate wishing to prevent it, summoned a council there for the same day. The Quakers therefore went to the market-cross, and it being market-day, Alexander Parker, one of their preachers, began to address them from the cross; "but the Scots being a dark carnal people, gave little heed, and hardly took notice of what was said." After a while, G. Fox "was moved of the Lord to stand up at the cross, and to declare with a loud voice the everlasting truth, and the day of the Lord that was coming upon all sin and wickedness. Whereupon the people came running out of the Town Hall, and they had at last a large meeting; for the people sat in the court only for a pretext to hinder the Quakers from having the Hall to meet in." At this town happened also another remarkable instance of divine judgment. An "envious soldier," who hated "both them and the truth," and who had spoken "evilily of the truth," and "despitefully of the light of Christ Jesus" to which they bore witness; while standing and holding up his hat before his face during the prayer of one of his priests, was stabbed to death in the back, by some of his own persuasion. G. Fox says, "So he who had rejected the teachings of the Lord Jesus Christ, and cried down the servants of the Lord, was murdered amongst them whom he had so cried up, and by one of them." This is a similar occurrence to that which took place at Badcow, and shows how important it is, to watch over and control our evil passions, lest at any time we should heedlessly revile the Spirit of God, or the Holy Ghost in any of its operations or appearances.

After travelling through many parts of Scotland, he re-

turned once more to Edinburgh, regardless of the warrant issued out for his apprehension, by the council, for disobedience to their order to leave the kingdom at the end of a week: and after having fully cleared his mind, both there and at all other places in that nation, he returned back into England, passing through Berwick, Newcastle, and Durham, and through Yorkshire into Bedfordshire, where he attended the "general Yearly Meeting of Friends held at John Crook's at Luton, in that county, in 1658. Many thousands were assembled upon this occasion from all parts of the nation, and the meeting lasted for three days."

After it was over, and most of the Friends were gone home, G. Fox says, "as I was walking in John Crook's garden, there came a party of horse, with a constable, to seize me. I heard them ask 'who was in the house,' and somebody made them answer, 'I was there.' They said, 'I was the man they looked for,' and went forthwith into the house, where they had many words with John Crook, and some few Friends that were with him. But the Lord's power so confounded them, that they never came into the garden to look for me, but went their way in a rage." The next day he left Luton, and travelled up to London.

CHAPTER X.

1658. Accepts the challenge of a Jesuit to dispute with the Quakers—A fast proclaimed—Writes an address to Parliament—His last interview with Cromwell.

Now the Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils. Speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their consciences seared with a hot iron; forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving of them which believe and know the truth."—1 Tim. iv. 1—3.

The "man of sin—the son of perdition: who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God."—2 Thess. ii. 3, 4.

Shortly after his arrival in London, he was engaged in a dispute with a Jesuit, who had come over in the suite of the Spanish Ambassador, and who had challenged all the Quakers to dispute with him at the Earl of Newport's house, where the embassy resided. Upon receiving notice from the Quakers that the challenge would be accepted, and that he might appoint a time when it should take place, he sent them word that he would meet twelve of the wisest and most learned men among them. This number he afterwards diminished to six, and finally reduced it to three only. The Quakers judging from this vacillating conduct, that, in spite of his great boasting, he might ultimately shuffle off, urged him to appoint an early day. The three selected upon this occasion were, G. Fox, Nicholas Bond, and Edward Burrough; and upon their arrival at the house, George Fox requested his two companions to go up and enter into conversation with the Jesuit, and that he "would walk awhile in the yard, and then come up after them:" and that they should state this question to him, "Whether or not the Church of Rome, as it now stood, was not degenerated from the true church, which was in the primitive times, from the life and doctrine,

and from the power and spirit that they were in?" To this the Jesuit affirmed, "that the Church of Rome now was in the virginity and purity of the primitive church."

George Fox coming up as he made this reply, asked him, "Whether they had the Holy Ghost poured out upon them as the apostles had?"

Jesuit. "No."

G. Fox. "Then if ye have not the same Holy Ghost poured forth upon you, and the same power and spirit that the apostles had, ye are degenerated from the power and spirit which the primitive church was in."

G. Fox says, "there needed little more to be said upon this point." He therefore put another question, "What scriptures have ye for setting up cloisters for nuns, abbeys and monasteries for men; for all your several orders; for your praying by beads, and to images; for making crosses; for forbidding of meats and marriages; and for putting people to death for religion? If ye are in the practice of the primitive church, in its purity and virginity, then let us see by scripture wherever they practised any such thing?" (For it was agreed upon both sides, that they should make good by scriptures what they stated.)

Jesuit. "There is a written word and an unwritten word."

G. Fox. "What dost thou call thy unwritten word?"

Jesuit. "The written word is the scriptures, and the unwritten word is that which the apostles spoke by word of mouth, which are those traditions that we practise."

G. Fox. "Prove that by scripture."

Jesuit. "The apostle says, 2 Thess. ii. 5, 'When I was with you, I told you these things.' That is, I told you of nunneries, and monasteries, and of putting to death for religion, and of praying by beads, and to images, and all the rest of the practices of the Church of Rome, which was the unwritten word of the apostles, which they told them, and have since been continued down by tradition, unto these times."

G. Fox. "I desire thou wilt read that scripture again, that thou mayst see how thou hast perverted the apostle's

words; for that which the apostle there tells the Thessalonians, 'he told them before,' is not an unwritten word, but is there written down, namely, 'That the man of sin, the son of perdition, shall be revealed before the great and terrible day of Christ,' of which he was writing, should come; so this was not telling them of any of those things which the Church of Rome practises. In the like manner, the apostle, in the third chapter of that epistle, tells the church of some disorderly persons, 'He heard were among them, busybodies, who did not work at all;' concerning whom he had commanded them by his unwritten word, when he was among them, 'that if any would not work, neither should he eat;' which now he commands them again in his written word in this epistle; 2 Thess. iii. As this passage afforded no proof for their invented traditions, and the Jesuit had no other scripture proof to offer, George Fox told him, therefore, This is another degeneration of your church, into such inventions and traditions as the apostles and primitive saints never practised.'"

"After this, he came to the sacrament of the altar, beginning at the paschal lamb, and the show-bread, and so came to the words of Christ, 'This is my body,' and to what the apostle wrote of it to the Corinthians, concluding, 'That after the priest had consecrated the bread and wine, it was *immortal and divine*; and he that received it, received the whole of Christ.'"

G. Fox says, "I followed him through the scriptures he brought forward, till I came to Christ's words and the apostle's; and then I showed him, 'That the same apostle told the Corinthians, after they had taken bread and wine in remembrance of Christ's death, that they were reprobates, if Christ was not in them;' but if the bread they ate was Christ, he must of necessity be in them after they had eaten it. Besides, if this bread and this wine, which the Corinthians ate and drank, was Christ's body, then how hath Christ a body in heaven? Both the disciples at the supper, and the Corinthians afterwards, were to eat the bread and drink the wine in remembrance of Christ, and 'to show forth his death till

He come,' which plainly proves the bread and wine which they took, was not his body. For if it had been his real body that they ate, then he had come, and was then there present; and it had been improper to have done such a thing in remembrance of Him, if He had been then present with them, as He must have been, if that bread and wine which they ate and drank had been his real body. As to those words of Christ, 'This is my body,' Christ calls himself a vine, and a door, and is called in scripture a rock. Is Christ therefore an outward rock, door, or vine?"

Jesuit. "Oh, those words are to be interpreted."

G. Fox. "So are those words of Christ, 'This is my body.'"

"Now having stopped his mouth as to argument," G. Fox made the Jesuit the following proposal:—"That seeing thou sayest, 'the bread and wine was immortal and divine, and the very Christ, and that whosoever received it, received the whole Christ;' let a meeting be appointed between some whom the pope and his cardinals should appoint, and some of us; let a bottle of wine and a loaf of bread be brought, and divided each into two parts, and let them consecrate which of those parts they would. Then set the consecrated and the unconsecrated bread and wine in a safe place, with a sure watch upon it; and let trial be thus made, whether the consecrated bread and wine would not lose its goodness, and the bread grow dry and mouldy, and the wine turn dead and sour, as well and as soon as that which was unconsecrated? By this means, the truth of this matter might be made manifest. And if the consecrated bread and wine change not, but retain their savour and goodness, this may be a means to draw many to your church: if they change, decay, and lose their goodness, then ought you to confess and forsake your error, and shed no more blood about it: for much blood hath been shed about these things, as in Queen Mary's days."

Jesuit. "Take a piece of new cloth, and cut it into two pieces, and make two garments of it, and put one of them upon King David's back, and the other upon a beggar's, and the one garment shall wear away as well as the other."

G. Fox. "Is this thy answer?"

Jesuit. "Yes."

G. Fox. "Then by this the company may all be satisfied that your consecrated bread and wine is not Christ. Have ye told the people so long that the consecrated bread and wine was immortal and divine, and that it was the very real body and blood of Christ, and dost thou now say it will wear away or decay as well as the other! I must tell thee, 'Christ remains the same to-day as yesterday,' and never decays; but is the saints' heavenly food in all generations, through which they have life."

The Jesuit made no reply, being willing to drop this point as he had done the former ones; for the people that were present saw his error, and that he could not defend it.

G. Fox. "Why does your church persecute, and put people to death for religion?"

Jesuit. "It was not the church that did it, but the magistrates."

G. Fox. "Were not these magistrates counted and called believers and Christians, and members of your church?"

Jesuit. "Yes."

G. Fox. "Then I leave it to the people to judge from thy own words, whether the church of Rome did not persecute and put people to death for religion."

Here the conference broke off, and the Jesuit's sophistry was completely overthrown by the simplicity of G. Fox. And as opposed as the tenets of Quakerism are in every point to popery, yet strange as it may appear, some individuals of this Society have lately renounced the simple doctrine of George Fox, to embrace the complicated errors of the Church of Rome. Surely, they never could have duly considered this remarkable interview between their founder and the Jesuit.

The argument here is not only conclusive, as it relates to the doctrine of transubstantiation, but leads us to more important conclusions, than appear upon a first glance; for does not this refutation of the efficacy of consecration in the Romish ritual, by means of a humanly devised ceremony, and

a humanly elected priesthood, equally apply to all other consecrations of the various existing Christian churches? If any devised form of prayer, with any devised ceremony, is admitted to be efficient for the consecration of a building, a burial ground, or of a priesthood, surely we must allow that another devised form, and another devised ceremony, may be equally efficient in the consecration of holy water, or even of the wafer itself? both of which suppositions are looked upon by our church as Romish errors and gross superstitions. Putting the argument in this light, we call upon all persons seriously to reflect, whether the consecrations of buildings and burial-grounds, retained by our church, are not relics of popish superstitions, and part of the cunningly devised inventions of the "Man of sin, the son of perdition;" for the gospel affords us no warrant for any such practices. The same argument will also apply to the laying on of hands in ordination and other ceremonies; because it is the Spirit of God alone, that can effectually consecrate or make holy the heart: and this ceremony of laying on of hands, by which the apostles conveyed the gift of the Holy Ghost, was a miraculous gift; the power of conferring which, though often granted in the apostolic times, is now no longer permitted to any human being. Nor does it seem necessary in these days, since the general diffusion of the gospel precepts teaches us to look up to Christ as the fountain and living source of this divine gift. D'Aubigné says, "If Rome imperiously requires, for the validity of consecration, the imposition of hands by a bishop descended in uninterrupted succession from the apostles, that comes of her setting *human tradition* above the word of God. In every church in which the authority of scripture is not absolute, some other authority must needs be sought." Again, "He who speaks in the name of antiquity is stronger than the rationalist, who only speaks in his own name? But the Christian minister has a still more exalted authority; he preaches not because he descends from St. Chrysostom and St. Peter, but because the word he publishes descends from God himself. The idea of succession, however worthy of respect it may appear,

is, after all, but a human system substituted for that of God.”* The gospel to which every thing must be submitted, affords no proof or warrant for the doctrine of apostolic succession. “Scripture, without any commentary,” says Luther, “is the sun from which all doctors derive light. Let this one book,” he exclaims, “be on all tongues, in all hands, under all eyes, in all ears, and in all hearts.”†

The same line of argument may be as justly applied to refute the modern dangerous theory of traditions, now advanced by a party among the clergy of the establishment, as a proper authority in doctrine; for if we once admit the validity of traditions in support of practices at variance with the apostolic times, or of doctrines unjustified by the gospel, we have no right to deny the same advantage to the Catholics in support of their superstitions. With submission, the following passage is offered to the consideration of all men: “Ye hypocrites, well did Esaias prophesy of you, saying, This people draweth nigh unto me with their mouth, and honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me. But in vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.”—Matt. xv. 7—9.

Nearly all the rites and forms now in the use of the different Christian churches, not even excepting Baptism and the Last Supper, may be traced up to the Jewish priesthood: which with all its routine of ceremonies, offerings, sacrifices, tithes and consecrations, was ordained by the express and particular command of God, through his servant Moses, to the Jewish people; forming a covenant between God and them, that if they would serve him, and walk in these, his laws and ordinances, then He would be their God, and their shield and strong defence.

These religious ordinances of the Mosaic law were considered by the Jews as types of the advent of the Messiah, at whose coming was to be established a more perfect and glorious dispensation. And after his appearance and rejection

* Reformation, vol. iii. book xii. chap. xi. p. 398.

† Ibid. vol. iii. book ix. chap. v. p. 271.

by the Jews, their temple worship, with all its rites and ceremonies, soon ceased to exist; their nation was overthrown, and their people were dispersed over the face of the earth. And we see that the Jewish priesthood, with all its ceremonies and sacrifices, was both fulfilled and ended by the one sacrifice of Christ; the which has freed us from the obligations and penalties of the old law, and placed us under the spiritual dispensation of the gospel witnessed in our hearts; and farther, that no *other outward rites*, as *religious obligations*, were instituted in their place, either by the revelation of God, or by the precepts of his Son Jesus Christ to his disciples. For the outward observances and practices of the early apostolic church, were only so many wise regulations for keeping the mind alive to a proper sense of its Christian duties, and for the perpetuating of the remembrance of our Lord's great sacrifice for the redemption of mankind—the end and object of his coming—"For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature."—Gal. vi. 15. "If God had intended," says Dr. D'Aubigné, "that Christianity should, like the Mosaic system, be chiefly an ecclesiastical, sacerdotal, and hierarchical system, He would have ordered and established it in the New Testament, as He did in the old. But there is nothing like this in the New Testament. All the declarations of our Lord, and of his apostles, tend to prove that the new religion given to the world, is 'life and spirit,' and not a new system of priests and ordinances. The kingdom of God cometh not with observation: neither shall they say, 'Lo here! or Lo there! for behold the kingdom of God is within you.'"*

It is in this light alone that the outward observances of all the present Christian communities ought to be considered, since all parties admit that the "inward and spiritual grace" alone is the essential part of such ceremonies, which of themselves cannot give this "new creature;" but are only employed as a means, through God's free grace, of bringing about this essential change in the heart—this new and spi-

* D'Aubigné's Discourses. Dis. xi. p. 203. Collins' edition.

ritual birth mentioned by Christ to Nicodemus. An argument the most forcible that can be adduced in their favour, although but seldom urged from the pulpit; from whence, alas! external ordinances are too often insisted upon as important ceremonies, in themselves necessary to salvation.

Persecutions of all kinds still continued to rage against the Quakers; the jails throughout the land were filled with their persons, and their estates were every where given up to the waste and plunder of their enemies. George Fox therefore again felt himself called upon to represent their hard and cruel case to the Protector, stating, in several appeals, the particulars of their sufferings for conscience' sake, and this at a time when religious toleration was professed to be extended to all Christians. Little or no redress was afforded them, and, in all probability, Cromwell, had he ever so much wished it, would have found it at this period a difficult and dangerous undertaking.

Cromwell was no doubt sincere at the commencement of his career, and meant what he professed; but as he advanced towards absolute power, he found more of worldly policy necessary to reconcile contending interests,—he had to reward his companions in arms, as well as his polemical preachers, whose extravagant demands, at this time, he found somewhat difficult to appease; for although rejecting the “Babylonish vestments” of the Episcopal church, they were as eager to participate in her temporalities, as his military followers were to secure the emoluments of the state. This unjustifiable neglect of this portion of his subjects, is not only a stain upon his name, but was also bad policy. The Quakers had now become a considerable body, united together by wholesome and moral by-laws, and as they renounced all fighting, and all ecclesiastical remuneration, his government, which professed toleration to every Christian church, had nothing whatever to fear from them. Their tenets were too simple and spiritual, their lives were, at this early period, too meek and self-denying,—too practically Christian to please the world at large, and as their principles were dissonant to all priestcraft, under whatever shape it presented

itself, he might have found in them, had he extended to them the hand of protection, instead of giving them over to the persecution of their adversaries, a useful check upon his own ungovernable priesthood, whose hollow and hypocritical pretensions the Quakers unsparingly denounced. It is possible, however, that his conduct in this particular might have been influenced by a fear of irritating his clergy, or of creating any cause of discontent against his government that might possibly end in his own downfall; for he began to grow extremely suspicious.

A report was also spread at this time of his intention to assume the crown. G. Fox went to him and warned him against accepting it, and also of other dangers; such as his suffering the innocent to be oppressed by the unjust, and that if he did not put a stop to this evil, "he would bring shame and ruin upon himself and his posterity." Cromwell appeared to take his advice very well; but George Fox was shortly after moved to write to him the following letter:—

"O PROTECTOR!

"Who hast tasted of the power of God, more than many generations before thee have done, since the days of apostacy from the apostles, take heed that thou lose not thy power, but keep kingship off thy head, which the world would give thee, and earthly crowns under thy feet, lest with that thou cover thyself, and so lose the power of God. When the children of Israel went from this power of God in them, they would have kings as other nations had, as transgressors had; and so God gave them one. And when the Jews would have taken Christ, and made him a king, he hid himself from them; he was hid from that which would have made him a king, He who was the King of the Jews inwardly. O Oliver! take heed of undoing thyself by running into things that will fade, the things of this world that will change. Be subject and obedient to the Lord God.

"GEORGE FOX." *

* Sewell's History of Friends, vol. i. p. 303.

About this time he wrote to Lady Claypole, one of Cromwell's daughters, who was then ill and much distressed in her mind, "and could receive no comfort from any that came to her:" it begins,—

"FRIEND,

"Be still and cool in thy own mind and spirit from thy own thoughts, and then thou wilt feel the principle of God to turn thy mind to the Lord God, from whom life comes. Therefore be still awhile from thy own searching, seeking *desires*, and imaginations, and be staid in the principle of God in thee, that it may raise thy mind up to God, and stay it upon God, and thou wilt find strength from Him, and find Him to be a God at hand, a present help in the time of trouble and of need. And thou being come to the principle of God, which hath been transgressed, it will keep thee humble; and the humble, God will teach his way, which is peace, and such He doth exalt." Again,—“Keep in the fear of the Lord God; that is the word of the Lord unto thee. For all these things happen to thee for thy good, and for the good of those concerned for thee, to make you know yourselves, and your own weakness, and that ye may know the Lord's strength and power, and may trust in Him.” Again, “The same light that lets you see sin and transgression, will let you see the covenant of God, which blots out your sin and transgression, which gives victory and dominion over it, and brings into covenant with God. For looking down at sin, and corruption, and destruction, ye are swallowed up in it: but looking at the light, which discovers them, ye will see over them,” and “gain the victory,” and thus secure “the first step to peace.” He concludes, “So in the name and power of the Lord Jesus Christ, God Almighty strengthen thee.

“GEORGE FOX.”

A proclamation was issued this year for a solemn fast, to be accompanied with a subscription for the relief of twenty Protestant families driven out of Bohemia, for several Pro-

testant churches driven out of Poland, and in aid of the Protestants persecuted by the Duke of Savoy, in the valleys of Lucerne, Angrona, &c. George Fox was thereupon moved to write an address to the "Heads and Governors of the Nation," stating what the nature of the true fast was, (such as God requires and accepts,) and the inconsistency and wickedness of fasting, and subscribing for suffering Protestants persecuted abroad by Papists, at the same time that they, professing themselves to be Protestants, were persecuting their own brethren at home.

Cromwell, by this time, had been correctly informed by particular documents, that some hundreds of innocent families of the Quakers, were at that moment unjustly confined in prisons all over the kingdom, for their religious scruples alone; and therefore they were fasting for the same evil results of persecution in others, of which they were equally culpable themselves. Our limits will only admit of some short extracts.

"TO THE HEADS AND GOVERNORS OF THIS NATION, WHO HAVE PUT FORTH A DECLARATION FOR THE KEEPING OF A DAY OF SOLEMN FASTING AND HUMILIATION, FOR THE PERSECUTION (AS YE SAY) OF DIVERS PEOPLE BEYOND THE SEAS, PROFESSING THE REFORMED RELIGION, WHICH, YE SAY, HATH BEEN TRANSMITTED TO THEM FROM THEIR ANCESTORS."

"A profession of the Reformed Religion may be transmitted to generations, and so holden by tradition; and in that, wherein the tradition and profession are holden, is the day of humiliation kept; which stands in the will of man. This is not the fast that the Lord requires, 'to bow down the head like a bulrush for a day,' and the day following to be in the same condition that they were the day before. To the light of Christ Jesus in your consciences do I speak, which testifieth for God every day and witnesseth against all sin and persecution; which measure of God, if ye be guided by it, doth not limit God to a day, but leads to the fast that the Lord requires, which is, 'To loose the bands of wicked-

ness, to undo the heavy burdens, to break every yoke, and to let the oppressed go free.'—Isa. lviii. 6, 7. This is the fast the Lord requires; and this stands not in the transmission of times, nor in the traditions of men; but in that which was before times were, which leads out of time, and shall be when time shall be no more. Them that teach for doctrine the commandments of men, are they that ever persecuted the life and power when it came." He then acknowledges the justice of administering to the necessities of others, and of doing good to all: "But," he says, "in the mean time, while ye are doing this, and taking notice of others' cruelty, tyranny, and persecution, turn your eye upon yourselves, and see what ye are doing at home. To the light of Christ Jesus in all your consciences I speak, which cannot lie, nor err, nor bear false witness; but which bears witness for God, and cries for equity, justice, and righteousness to be executed." "Now let this light examine and try whether ye have any example or precedent to exercise this persecution, which now many in this nation suffer under, who are a people harmless and innocent, walking in obedience towards God and man. And though ye account the truth they walk in heresy, yet therein do they exercise themselves, to have always 'a conscience void of offence towards God and man,' as ye may read the saints of old did.—Acts xxiv." Again, "Ye profess Christ Jesus, who is the 'light of the world, that enlightens every man that cometh into the world;' yet ye persecute them that bear witness and give testimony to this light. Ye profess that the kingdom of Christ is come; yet ye persecute them that witness it come. Ye profess Jesus Christ, the resurrection and the life; yet ye persecute them that witness Him to be so. If ye say, 'How shall we know that these people, who say they witness these things, do so, or not?' I answer, turn your minds to the light, which Christ Jesus hath enlightened you withal, which is one in all. To no other touchstone shall we turn you, than into your own consciences; there shall ye find the truth of what we have declared unto you, and of what we bear testimony to, according to the holy scriptures. Those that witness Christ come in the flesh ye

persecute, those ye hale before magistrates, and suffer to be beaten in your synagogues; those ye cause to be whipped and stocked; to be shamefully entreated, cast into prison and kept; as many jails in this nation at this day testify to your faces. Therefore, honestly consider what ye are doing, while ye are taking notice of others' cruelties, lest ye overlook your own, &c., &c.

"GEORGE FOX."

"Divers times," says G. Fox, "both in the time of the Long Parliament, and of the Protector (so called,) and of the Committee of Safety, when they proclaimed fasts, I was moved to write to them, and tell them their fasts were like unto Jezebel's; for commonly when they proclaimed fasts, there was some mischief contrived against us. I knew their fasts were for strife and debate, to smite with the fist of wickedness; as the New England professors soon after did, who, before they put our Friends to death, proclaimed a fast also."

Many Quakers had now been immured for so long a time in damp unwholesome prisons, that their lives were at last endangered, so that many respectable members of this Society were moved to go before the Parliament, and offer themselves to lie in prison, as hostages for their brethren, that they might not die in confinement: "And in love to them that cast them in, that they might not bring innocent blood upon their own heads; which would cry to the Lord, and bring his wrath, vengeance, and plagues upon them." Instead of getting any redress from these rigid disciplinarians and high professors of godliness, they only met with blows and buffetings. G. Fox therefore addressed to them the following reproof for their hypocrisy:—

"O FRIENDS,

"Do not cloak and cover yourselves; there is a God that knoweth your hearts, and that will uncover you. He seeth your way. 'Wo be to him that covereth, but not with my Spirit, saith the Lord.' Do ye act contrary to the law, and

then put it from you? Mercy and true judgment ye neglect. Look, what was spoken against such: my Saviour spoke against such: 'I was sick, and ye visited me not; I was hungry, and ye fed me not; I was a stranger, and ye took me not in; I was in prison, and ye visited me not.' But they said, 'When saw we thee in prison, and did not come to thee?' 'Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of these little ones, ye did it not unto me.' Friends, ye prison them that are in the life and power of truth, and ye profess to be ministers of Christ. But if Christ had sent you, ye would bring out of prison, and out of bondage, and receive strangers. Ye have lived in pleasure on the earth, and been wanton; ye have nourished your hearts as in a day of slaughter; ye have condemned, and killed the just, and he doth not resist you."

"GEORGE FOX."

George Fox again went to see the Protector, to try once more how far he could influence him to act with justice and impartiality to all his subjects, and thus put a stop to the sufferings of the injured Friends, who were now unjustly deprived of the liberties and privileges secured to all freemen by the great Charter of England. He had often before warned him of his unjust neglect of this portion of his unoffending and innocent subjects, and had told him, that if he persisted in refusing any interference on their behalf, God would soon rend the power out of his hands; and, "that a day of reverse and thick darkness was coming over those high professions, even a day of darkness that should be felt." Cromwell was at Hampton Court; G. Fox says, "I met him riding in the Park, and before I came to him, as he rode at the head of his life-guard, I saw and felt a waft (or apparition) of death go forth against him; and when I came to him, he looked like a dead man. After I had laid the sufferings of Friends before him, and had warned him, according as I was moved to speak to him, he bid me come to his house. So I returned to Kingston, and the next day went up to Hampton Court, to speak further with him. But when I came, he was sick, and one Harvey, who waited on him, told me the

doctors were not willing I should speak to him. So I passed away, and never saw him more."

Very shortly after this interview, the Protector died, and G. Fox, who was in Essex, came up to London. A little time before Cromwell's death, the new church faith was concocted at the Savoy, and G. Fox getting a copy of it before it was published, wrote an answer to it, and had it printed off with such despatch, that his answer was sold "up and down the streets" at the same time with the church-faith. This circumstance gave great umbrage to some of the Parliament men, and one of them told G. Fox, "they must have him to Smithfield;" to which he replied, "he was over their fires, and feared them not." "A great deal of work," he says, "we had about this priest-made faith; for they called us house-creepers, leading silly women captive, because we met in houses, and would not hold up their priests and temples which they had made and set up. I told them that it was they who led silly women captive, and crept into houses, who kept people always learning under them, who were covetous, and had got a form of godliness, but denied the power and spirit which the apostles were in. The apostles met in several private houses, being to preach the gospel to all nations; which they did freely, as Christ had commanded them. Thus do we, who bring people off from these priests, temples, and tithes, which God never commanded, to meet in houses, or on mountains, as the saints of old did, who were gathered in the name of Jesus, Christ being their Prophet, Priest, and Shepherd."

During this time of sharp persecution, the intrepid courage of G. Fox always led him to the front of danger. At some meeting about seven miles from London, the Quakers had been very much abused by the vulgar rabble of several adjoining parishes, who assembled on purpose to abuse them and interrupt their meetings; and upon one occasion, when about eighty Friends from London had come down to attend this meeting, they were so beset and so roughly handled that their coats and cloaks were torn from their backs, and they were thrown into ditches and ponds, and besmeared with

mud and dirt. G. Fox says, "the next day I was moved of the Lord to go to that meeting, though I was then very weak. When I came there, I bid Friends bring a table, and set it in a close, where we used to meet, to stand upon. According to their wonted course, the rude people came, and I having a Bible in my hand, showed them theirs and their priests' and teachers' fruits: and the people became ashamed, and were quiet, and the meeting ended quietly. It was no uncommon thing in those days, for the Quakers to be pelted with rotten eggs, fireworks to be thrown into their meetings, and drums and tin kettles to be beaten in order to annoy them, and "the priests were as rude as any: as may be seen in the book of the fighting priests, wherein a list is given of some who had actually beaten and abused Friends."

Many Quakers were brought up out of the country as prisoners, and tried before the "Committee of Safety," which at this time held the sovereign sway, and of which the celebrated republican, Sir Henry Vane, was the chairman. He quarrelled with the Quakers because they refused to pull off their hats when brought into the committee; "but at last the Lord's power came over him, so that through the mediation of others, they were admitted." Many of these Quakers had been imprisoned alone for "contempt," that is, for not putting off their hats, and G. Fox says, "it was not likely that Friends, who had suffered so long for it from others, should put off their hats to him." He also remarks, that "a great deal of hypocrisy, deceit and strife was got uppermost in the people, so that they were ready to sheath their swords in one another's bowels. There had been tenderness in many of them formerly, when they were low; but when they were got up, had killed, and taken possession, they came to be as bad as others; so that we had much to do with them about our hats, and saying thou and thee to them."

During the Commonwealth, the Quakers had often been accused of meeting together to plot the restoration of the king, "whereas they did not concern themselves with the outward powers, or government." Nevertheless, G. Fox says, "that he had a sight and sense of the king's return, a

good while before it took place, and so had some others." A woman Friend came to him in the Stand, three years before the Restoration, and told him she had a prophecy concerning his return, and that she must go over and declare it to the king. G. Fox says, "I saw that her prophecy was true, and that a great stroke must come upon them in power."

One Thomas Aldam also, in an interview with Cromwell, in which he had laid before him a particular statement of all the Quakers at that time in prison, verified by certificates under the jailers' hands, when Cromwell refused to give an order for their liberation, "he was moved to take off his cap, and to rend it in pieces, before him, and to say unto him, 'so shall thy government be rent from thee and thy house.'" Another woman Quaker also went to the sainted parliament with a pitcher in her hand, which she broke before them, saying, "so should they be broken in pieces;" which shortly came to pass. These minute circumstances strongly depict the temper of the times.

G. Fox says, "Now was there a great pother made about the image or effigies of Oliver Cromwell lying in state; men standing and sounding trumpets over his image, after he was dead. At this my spirit was greatly grieved, and the Lord, I found, was highly offended." Therefore he wrote to reprove them for their wicked flatteries, and to warn them to repent. He wrote also an epistle to his own followers to encourage them to remain faithful and faint not, under the many persecutions which they now suffered. He begins:—

"My Dear Friends, wherever scattered abroad, in prison or out of prison: fear not, because of the reports of suffering; let not the evil spies of the good land make you afraid, if they tell you the walls are high, and that there are Anakims, in the land; for at the blowing of the rams-horns, did the walls of Jericho fall, and they that brought the evil reports perished in the wilderness. But dwell ye in the faith, patience, and hope, having the Word of Life to keep you, which is beyond the law; and having the oath of God, his

covenant, Christ Jesus, which divides the waters asunder, and makes them to run all on heaps; in that stand: and ye will see all things work together for good, to them that love God. In that triumph, when sufferings come, whatever they may be. Your faith, your shield, your helmet, your armour you have on; ye are ready to skip over a mountain, a wall, or a hill, and to walk through the deep waters, though they be as heap upon heaps. The evil spies of the good land may preach up hardness; but Caleb, which signifies a heart, and Joshua, a Saviour, triumph over all.

“GEORGE FOX.”

CHAPTER XI.

1659, 1660. Reproves the Cornish people for plundering of wrecks—
 Curious sermon at Bristol in support of his doctrine of Perfection—
 Apprehended at Swarthmore and imprisoned at Lancaster Castle—
 Released by the King's warrant—Rising of the Fifth Monarchy
 men, and the Quakers suspected in consequence thereof—They put
 forth a declaration of their principles

"Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets."—Matt. vii. 12.

"If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness."—1 John i. 9.

The short interval that elapsed between the death of Oliver Cromwell and the return of Charles II., was a period of general excitement, all factions plotting and contriving to further their own several interests; so much so, that George Fox experienced a great care lest any of his followers should be drawn into such snares, and his time was therefore employed in writing and circulating several papers, wherein he cautioned them to remain quiet, and not to interfere or mingle themselves up with any of the parties or plottings that were now in agitation in various parts of the kingdom; reminding them, that their principles inculcated peace and submission to the lawful magistrate, whoever he might be. That those "who pretended to fight for Christ are deceived; for his kingdom is not of this world, therefore his servants do not fight." "All Friends, every where, this I charge you," he says, "which is the word of the Lord God unto you all, 'Live in peace, in Christ the way of peace,' and therein seek the peace of all men, and no man's hurt." "Take heed to keep out of the powers of the earth, that run into wars and fightings, which make not for peace, but go from that; such will not have the kingdom. And, Friends, take heed of

joining with this or the other, or meddling with any, or being busy with other men's matters; but mind the Lord, his power, and his service."

After remaining in London for some time, he again set out on his travels into various counties. While in Norfolk, the mayor of Norwich gaining intelligence that a large meeting was to be held there by his appointment, granted a warrant for his apprehension, which, however, was not used, in consequence of some Friends waiting upon the mayor, before the meeting, and informing him that their only object was to meet in a peaceable way, to worship God after their manner. George Fox says, "a large meeting it was, and abundance of rude people came, with an intent to do mischief: but the Lord's power came over them, so that they were chained by it, priests, professors, and ranters. Among the priests, one Townsend, stood up and cried, 'Error, blasphemy, and an ungodly meeting!' I bid him not burden himself with that which he could not make good; and I asked him what was our error and blasphemy; for I told him, he should make good his words before I had done with him, or be ashamed. As for an ungodly meeting, I said, I did believe that there were many people there that feared God, and therefore it was both unchristian and uncivil in him, to charge civil, godly people, with an ungodly meeting." The dispute then related to his doctrine of the inward teaching of the divine grace, in which George Fox refuted the priest from Scripture, and concluded in these words: "So I showed the people, that as the holy men of God who gave forth the Scripture as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, did hear and learn of God, before they spoke them forth, so must they all hearken and hear what the Spirit saith, which will lead them into all truth, that they may know God and Christ, and may understand the Scriptures." "Oh!" said the priest, "this is not that George Fox I would speak withal; this is a subtle man," said he. A glorious day this was, for truth came over all, and people were made moderate, and were reached by it, and were turned to God by his power and Spirit, and to the Lord Jesus Christ, their free Teacher, who

was exalted over all. And as we passed away, generally people's hearts were filled with love towards us; yea, the ruder sort of them desired another meeting, for the evil intentions that they had against us were thrown out of their hearts."

Upon his arrival at London, he found the city dismantled of her gates and posts, and General Monk in possession. "Long before this," he says, "I had a vision, wherein I saw the city lie in heaps and the gates down; and it was then represented to me just as I saw it several years after, lying in heaps, when it was burned." "Divers times had I, both by word and writing, forewarned the several powers, both in Oliver's time and after, of the day of recompense that was coming upon them; but they rejecting counsel, and slighting those visitations of love to them, I was moved now, before they were quite overturned, to lay their backsliding, hypocrisy, and treacherous dealing before them, thus:—

"FRIENDS,

"Now are the prophecies fulfilled and fulfilling upon you, which have been spoken to you by the people of God in your courts, in your steeple-houses, in your towns, &c., when ye were in your pleasures, and puffed up, that ye would neither hear God nor man; when ye were in the height of authority, though raised up from a mean estate, none might come nigh you without bowing, or the respect of persons, compliments, and fashions, which, for conscience' sake towards God, Friends could not go into, being redeemed therefrom," &c., &c. "Have ye not made covenants and oaths; and broken covenants and oaths betwixt God and man, and made the nations breakers both of covenants and oaths; so that nothing but hypocrisy, and rottenness, and falsehood, under fair pretence, was amongst you?" "When ye pretended to set up the old cause, it was but yourselves that ye set up; for which ye long stunk to sober people, who saw that ye would do no good. Ye quenched that which was good in yourselves, and persecuted them that lived in this principle, and so are grown so gross and perverse, that at last

ye are fit for neither God nor man. Have ye not used to call the Quakers the fanatic people, and the giddy heads? But whither now are ye giddyding? into Cain's city, Nod, which signifies fugitive or wandering?" &c., &c., &c.

"GEORGE FOX."

At Dorchester, the Quakers' meeting was suddenly broken in upon by constables and officers, who came under pretence of searching for a Jesuit with a shaven head; and they made all the Quakers take off their hats, that they might discover the shaven crown; and as G. Fox was the man "they aimed at," they inspected his head very closely; but not being able to discover a bald spot upon it, they went away with shame, having incurred the displeasure of the soldiers and the "sober people" who came there.

When in Cornwall he was much shocked at the prevalent custom of plundering the wrecks that were cast upon their coasts. "My spirit," he says, "was grieved to hear of such unchristian actions, considering how far they were below the heathen at Melita, who received Paul, made him a fire, and were courteous towards him, and those who suffered shipwreck with him. Wherefore I was moved to write a paper, and send it to all parishes, priests, and magistrates, to reprove them for such greedy actions, and to warn and exhort them, 'that if they could assist to save people's lives, and preserve their ships and goods, they should use their diligence therein; and consider if it had been their own condition, how hard they would judge it, that they should be upon a wreck, and the people should strive to get what they could from them, not regarding their lives. May ye not surely believe, that such kind of actions will become a curse unto you?'" It concludes, "And ye magistrates, who are to do justice, think ye not, that the hand of the Lord God is against you, and that his judgments will come upon you, who do not look after these things and stop them with the law, whereby ye might be a good savour in your country." To his own followers he added the following lines:—"All dear friends who fear the Lord God, keep out of the ravenous world's spirit,

which leads to raven and destroy, and which is out of the wisdom of God. When ships are wrecked, do not run to destroy and make havoc of ship and goods with the world; but run to save the men, and the goods for them; and so deny yourselves, 'and do unto them as ye would that they should do unto you.'

"GEORGE FOX."

This paper had so good an effect, that it caused many people to give up their old habits of plundering wrecks; a cruel practice, which from its having grown up with them from the earliest childhood, had become, in the eyes of a great many, a lawful pursuit.

At Bristol, the Quakers' meetings were much disturbed by drunken soldiers and rude people, instigated thereto by the mayor: sometimes they were driven out of their room into the orchard and struck by the soldiers with their muskets. A disturbance of this sort had taken place the day before George Fox's arrival, who, upon hearing of this outrageous conduct, requested four respectable Friends would wait upon the mayor and aldermen, "and request them, seeing they had broken up their meetings, to let Friends have the Town Hall to meet in; and that for the use of it, Friends would give them twenty pounds a-year to be distributed amongst the poor; and when the mayor and aldermen had business to do in it, Friends would not meet in it, but only on First-days, (Sundays.) Those Friends," he says, "were astonished at my request, and said the mayor and aldermen would think that they were mad. I said, Nay; for they would offer them a considerable benefit to the poor. And it was upon me from the Lord to bid them go. At last they consented, and went, though in the cross to their own wills. When they had laid the offer before the mayor, it came so over him, that he said, 'for his part he could consent to it, but he was but one.' So the Friends came away, leaving the mayor in a very loving frame towards them; for they felt the Lord's power had come over him." G. Fox wished the same Friends to go and acquaint the colonel of the regiment of the ill behaviour

of the soldiers, and "how they came armed among naked innocent people;" but notwithstanding the success of their mission to the mayor, they declined to do this, and the consequence was, that on the following day, (Sunday,) a party of drunken soldiers came about the middle of their meeting, and one with his drawn sword "fell jangling with these four Friends who had refused to call upon the colonel." The next day, however, they made their complaint, and the colonel sent for the soldiers, and "cut and slashed" them before their faces. G. Fox reproved these four Friends for not going at first as he had wished them, telling them, "they might have prevented this cutting of the soldiers, and the trouble they gave at the meeting."

He held many large meetings at Bristol and in the vicinity, during this visit, and at one a little way out of the town several thousands were assembled, consisting of a variety of persuasions. It was a very quiet meeting, notwithstanding its numbers, "and many glorious truths were opened to the people, and the Lord Jesus Christ was set up, who is the end of all figures and shadows, of the law, and the first covenant." One circumstance is remarkable in most of these events, that to whatever extent the Quakers' meetings had been disturbed by the rude rabble of their neighbourhood, no sooner does George Fox make his appearance than the meeting became doubly thronged, and whatever pre-determination existed to make a disturbance upon his arrival, no sooner does he open his mouth than all become rivetted to the spot in silence, or to use one of his favourite expressions, "the Lord's power came over all, and chained them down;" which proves that both in matter and manner he was very extraordinary and very different to the common run of preachers.

"We had a great deal of work," he says, "with priests and professors, who pleaded for imperfection, therefore I was opened to declare and manifest unto them, that Adam and Eve were perfect before they fell; and God saw that all He had made was good, and He blessed it. But imperfection came in by the fall; and though the law made nothing per-

fect, yet it made way for the bringing in of the better hope, which hope is Christ, who destroys the devil and his works, that made man and woman imperfect. Christ saith to his disciples, 'Be ye perfect, even as your heavenly Father is perfect;' and He, who himself is perfect, comes to make man and woman perfect again, and brings them again to the state which God made them in. So He is the maker up of the breach, and the peace betwixt God and man. That this might be better understood by the lowest capacities, I used a comparison of two old people, that had their houses broken down by an enemy, so that they, with all their children, were liable to all storms and tempests. Then came some pretended workmen, who offered to build it up again, provided they give them so much a-year; but after getting the money they leave the house as they found it. In this manner, came a second, third, fourth, and more, each with his several pretence of building up the old house, and each got the people's money, and then cried, 'they could not rear up the house, the breach could not be made up; for there is no perfection here.' For all the sect-masters in Christendom (so called) have pretended to build up Adam and Eve's fallen house, and when they got the people's money, tell them the work cannot be perfectly done here; so their house lies as it did. But I told the people, that Christ is come freely to do this, who by one offering hath perfected for ever all them that are sanctified; and renews them up into the image of God, which man and woman were in before the fall, and makes man and woman's house as perfect again as God made them at first; and this Christ, the heavenly Man, doth freely. Therefore all are to look to Him, and all that have received Him are to walk in Him, the Life, the Substance, the First, and the Last. 'The Rock of ages, the Foundation of many generations.'"

About this time, the religious meetings of the Quakers were much disturbed by the rude carriage of the military, under General Monk; upon which a remonstrance was made to the general, who caused the following general order to be posted up.

"St. James's, 9th March, 1659.

"I do require all officers and soldiers to forbear to disturb the peaceable meetings of the Quakers, they doing nothing prejudicial to the Parliament or Commonwealth of England.

"GEORGE MONK."

After leaving Bristol, he travelled through some of the midland counties to Drayton, in Leicestershire, in order to visit his relations. During his short stay at his native place, a justice, named Burton, hearing that he possessed a good horse, sent a warrant to apprehend him and his horse; but fortunately for George Fox, the warrant was not issued till after his departure, "and so he missed of his wicked end." He next turned his steps toward Yorkshire, to attend the general or yearly Meeting of the Society, which was held this year at Balby, in the orchard of John Killam, on account of the great numbers assembled, amounting to several thousands. Upon this occasion, George Fox addressing the meeting from a high stool, was suddenly interrupted by the arrival of two trumpeters, followed by a troop of horse; the trumpeters sounded, and the captain ordered the people to fall off right and left, whereupon he rode up to G. Fox, and said, "he must come down, for he had orders to disperse the meeting." G. Fox calmly reminded him, that a great many of the Friends had come from a great distance, and at a considerable expense and inconvenience, on purpose to attend that meeting, and therefore, that it would be a great hardship to disperse them before they had finished: he stated, also, that they were peaceably met for the worship of God, and would quietly and orderly separate, as soon as the meeting was over. The captain replied, "that his orders were to disperse the meeting, and that he could not wait for its ending." G. Fox told him, "if he could not wait himself, he might leave a dozen of his men to see the order and peaceableness of their meeting." The captain then drew off his troop and left six men, who told the Quakers "they might hold their meeting till night, if they chose." But in three hours after this interruption, the meeting broke up, and the

Friends went home. It appears, that a party of newly-raised militia, who had intended to have done the Quakers some mischief, sent for the troopers to assist them in their designs; and when the latter did not break up the meeting, they cursed both the captain and his men. "Yet this captain," G. Fox says, "was a desperate man; for it was he that had said to me, when in Scotland, that 'he would obey his superiors' commands; and if it were to crucify Christ, he would do it.' So that it was an eminent power of the Lord, which chained both him and his troopers, and those envious militia men also, who went away, not having the power to hurt any of us, nor to break up our meeting."

Soon after this occurrence, he went to Swarthmore, to visit his old friend, Margaret Fell, who was now a widow. He had not been long under her roof, before he was taken up by a warrant from Henry Porter, formerly a major under Cromwell. He was kept a prisoner that night at the constable's house at Ulverstone, and fifteen men sat up with him to watch him, "some of whom sat in the chimney for fear he should escape up the chimney, such dark imaginations possessed them." The next day he was rudely conveyed over to Lancaster, and brought before Major Porter, the mayor, who charged him with having great meetings up and down. G. Fox said, "Our meetings were known throughout the nation to be peaceable, and we were a peaceable people." He said. "He saw the devil in people's faces." G. Fox replied, "If I saw a drunkard, or a swearer, or a peevish heady man, I could not say, I saw the Spirit of God in him." Porter then committed him to be kept a close prisoner in the "Dark-house," in Lancaster Castle, until he should be delivered by the king or parliament; and refused to let him have a copy of his mittimus. This Porter had been a violent persecuting round-head, but now endeavoured to ingratiate himself in favour with the king's party, by falling upon and attacking the harmless Quakers, who, he thought, could not defend themselves in the sudden change which had taken place in the state affairs of the nation. While he was shut up in the castle-prison, many people went to look at him,

most of whom were rude and abusive. "One time," he says, "there came two young priests, and very abusive they were; the worst of people could not be worse; also old Justice Preston's wife of Howker Hall, who told him, 'his tongue should be cut out,' and 'he should be hanged,' showing him the gallows. But the Lord God cut her off, and she died in a miserable condition."

As he had been denied a copy of his mittimus, the only information he could obtain of its contents, was from two of his friends, whom the jailer permitted to read it over; he was therein charged with being the chief upholder of the sect of Quakers, who of late endeavoured to raise insurrections in that part of the country, and to embroil the whole nation in blood, with many other charges equally false; showing that no accusation was too extravagant for their enemies to brand them with. G. Fox wrote a vindication of his own conduct, and a refutation of all the charges alleged against him, pleading that he had been most illegally deprived of his personal liberty, whilst in the innocent exercise of the privilege of his birth-right as an Englishman, and was falsely accused of being an enemy to the king, by a man, who, in "Oliver's days, had been fierce both against the king and his party, though now he wished to be thought zealous for the king." Margaret Fell also wrote a protest against the legality of his apprehension, while a visiter under her roof, "he, not having committed any breach of the law, or offence against any in the nation;" she concludes, "I am concerned in this thing, inasmuch as he was apprehended in my house; and if he be guilty, I am so too. So I desire to have this searched out.—MARGARET FELL."

She afterwards, in company with Ann Curtis, went up to London, and represented to Charles II. the hard case of her friend G. Fox, as well as the unjustifiable conduct of Major Porter. They met with a most gracious reception from the king, on account of Ann Curtis, whose father had suffered in the royal cause. He had been sheriff of Bristol, during the troubles of the royal family, and for his loyalty, had been hung up before his own door, by the Parliamentarians.

As soon as Major Porter heard of Margaret Fell's determination to lay her complaint before the king in person, he "vapoured much, that he would go up and meet her in the gap;" but on his appearance at court, he was recognised as an old persecuting round-head, and being questioned by some of the courtiers, respecting the plunder of their houses, "he quickly had enough of the court, and soon returned into the country."

The dark prison in Lancaster Castle was by no means a solitary one; for George Fox's character was so well established, as a preacher of pure gospel precepts, that he was visited by great numbers of people, anxious to hear him expound these most important truths, and point out to them the sure grounds on which they were to build their hopes of salvation. Like Luther and the earlier reformers, he went forth in the great power of God, and as Luther exposed the gross superstitions and abominable heresies of Rome, so Fox held up the fallacy of many of the popish doctrines and practices still retained in the Episcopal Church of England, most of which practices, he considered as so many stumbling-blocks in the way of a Christian's progress. His words were uttered with power and might, for being built upon scripture, they cut like a two-edged sword, silencing the mouths of his adversaries, and carrying deep conviction into the hearts of his followers.

Upon these occasions, he was often moved to preach through the bars of his prison windows, there being no other means of access to his hearers; showing that even the imprisonment of its preachers, is made a means, through God's will, of spreading the important truths of the everlasting gospel. He was moved to declare to the people, "how uncertain their religion was, and that every sect, when uppermost, had persecuted the rest. When popery was uppermost, people had been persecuted for not following the mass, and those that held it up, said, 'It was the higher power,' and people must be subject to the higher power. Afterwards they that set up the common-prayer, persecuted others for not following that, saying, 'It was the higher power,' and

we must be subject to that. Since then, the presbyterians and independents cried, each of them, 'We must be subject to the higher power,' and submit to the directory of the one, and the church faith of the other. Thus all like the apostate Jews, have cried, 'Help, men of Israel, against the true Christians.' So people might see how uncertain they are of their religions." He then directed them to "Christ Jesus, their only Saviour, that they might build upon Him, the Rock and Foundation that changeth not."

He put forth the following paper upon "True Religion."

"True Religion is the true rule, and right way of serving God. And religion is a pure stream of righteousness, flowing from the image of God, and is the life and power of God, planted in the heart and mind by the law of life, which bringeth the soul, mind, spirit, and body, to be conformable to God, the Father of spirits, and to Christ, so that they come to have fellowship with the Father and the Son, and with his holy angels and saints. This religion is from above, pure and undefiled before God, leads to visit the fatherless, widows, and strangers, and keeps from the spots of the world. This religion is above all the defiled, spotted religions in the world, that keep not their professors from defilement and spots, but leave them impure, *below*, and spotted; whose fatherless, and widows, and strangers, beg up and down the streets."

"GEORGE FOX."

He also put forth another short paper upon persecution, which begins thus:—

"The Papists, Common-prayer-men, Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists, persecute one another about their own inventions, their mass, their common-prayer, their directory, their church-faith, which they made and framed, and not for the truth; for they know not what spirit they are of, who persecute, and would have men's lives destroyed about church-worship and religion, as saith Christ; who also said, 'He came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them.'"

"Those that destroy men's lives are not the ministers of

Christ, the Saviour. And ye that do persecute shall have no resurrection to life with God, except ye repent," &c.

"GEORGE FOX."

We shall give one more effusion from his pen, during his abode in the Castle at Lancaster, which was addressed to the king, and offers a striking example of his unflinching integrity; for it contains the plainest truths, expressed in the plainest language.

TO THE KING.

"KING CHARLES,

"Thou camest not into this nation by the sword, nor by victory of war; but by the power of the Lord: now if thou dost not live in it, thou wilt not prosper. And if the Lord hath showed thee mercy, and forgiven thee, and thou dost not show mercy and forgive, the Lord God will not hear thy prayers, nor them that pray for thee. If thou stop not persecution, and persecutors, and take away all laws that hold up persecution about religion; if thou persist in them and uphold persecution, that will make thee as blind as those that are gone before thee; for persecution always blinded those that have gone into it. Such, God by his power overthrows, doth his valiant acts upon, and bringeth salvation to his oppressed ones. If thou bear the sword in vain, and let drunkenness, oaths, plays, may-games, with such like abominations and vanities be encouraged or go unpunished, the nations will quickly turn like Sodom and Gomorrah, and be as bad as the old world, who grieved the Lord until He overthrew them; and so He will you, if these things be not suppressed. Hardly was there so much wickedness at liberty before, as there is at this day, as though there was no terror nor sword of magistracy. Hear and consider, and do good in thy time, whilst thou hast power; be merciful and forgive; this is the way to overcome, and obtain the kingdom of Christ.

"GEORGE FOX."

Reverting to Margaret Fell's application to the king, it appeared from the nature of his commitment that the king

could not release him, he therefore ordered a writ of habeas corpus to be issued for his removal to London, in order that his case might be referred to the judges. The trouble now was how to get him removed to town; for if he was only sent under the care of two bailiffs, the charge would be considerable; but to send him under a troop of horse, was quite out of the question, therefore, to save their pockets, the magistrates told him, "that if he would put in bail, that he would be in London by such a day of term, he might go up with some of his friends." G. Fox told them, "he would neither put in bail, nor give one piece of silver to the jailer, for he was an innocent man, upon whom they had laid a false charge, and imprisoned wrongfully. Nevertheless, if they would let him go up with one or two of his friends, he would be in London such a day, if the Lord should permit, and would carry up the charge against himself." So inconsistent was the conduct of his persecutors, that, to save themselves the charge of conveying him up to town under an escort, suitable for the dangerous character they had represented him to be, they liberated him upon his parole, to appear of his own accord, and deliver up his own accusation before the proper authorities in London: by this act, tacitly acknowledging the injustice of their own proceedings, and the falsity of their charges against him; because if they had been true only in part, nothing could justify their setting such a person at large upon parole. Thus he left Lancaster castle without the payment of a single fee, travelled at his leisure, visited his friends, and held many great meetings on his journey; committing over and over again the very offences for which he had been imprisoned, and in which offences his persecutors now silently acquiesced, since by liberating him upon his bare word to surrender himself, they consented to that which they well knew would be his only line of conduct.

Upon his arrival in London, he found a great concourse of people assembled at Charing Cross, to witness the burning of the bowels of the late king's judges, who had been hanged, drawn, and quartered. The next day, he went before the Lord Chief Justice Foster, and Judge Mallett, and present-

ing them his own accusation, they read it through till they came to the words, "that he and his friends were embroiling the nation in blood," &c., upon which they struck their hands upon the table. G. Fox told them, "I am the man whom that charge is against, but I am as innocent of any such thing as a new-born child, and had brought it up myself; and some of my friends came up with me, without any guard." They then observed that he stood with his hat on, and said to him, "What, do you stand with your hat on?" He replied, "that he did not stand so in any contempt of them." In consequence of the King's Bench prison being full, Judge Foster asked him, "Will you appear to-morrow about ten o'clock at the King's Bench bar in Westminster Hall?" He said, "Yes; if the Lord gives me strength." Then Judge Foster remarked to the other judge, "If he says yes, and promises it, you may take his word:" and then he was dismissed. The next morning, he says, "I was brought into the middle of the court; and as soon as I came in, I was moved to look about, and turning to the people, said, 'Peace be among you:' and the power of the Lord sprung over the court. The charge against me was then read openly. The people were moderate, and the judges cool and loving; and the Lord's mercy was to them. But when they came to that part which said, 'that I and my friends were embroiling the nation in blood, and raising a new war, that I was an enemy to the king,' &c., they lifted up their hands. Then stretching out my arms, I said, 'I am the man whom that charge is against; but I am as innocent as a child concerning the charge, and have never learned any war-postures. And, do ye think that if I and my friends had been such men as the charge declares, that I would have brought it up myself against myself? or that I should have been suffered to come up with only one or two of my friends with me? Had I been such a man as this charge sets forth, I had need to have been guarded up with a troop or two of horse.' Then the judge asked me, whether it should be filed, or what I would do with it? I answered, 'Ye are judges, and able, I hope, to judge in this matter, therefore do ye what ye will with it, I leave it to

you. Then stood up Esquire Marsh, who was of the king's bed-chamber, and told the judges, 'It was the king's pleasure that I should be set at liberty, seeing no accuser came up against me.' They then asked me, 'Whether I would put it to the king and council?' I said, 'Yes, with a good will.' The writ of habeas corpus and the mittimus were thereupon sent to the king."

The person whom he styles Esquire Marsh, was a gentleman attached to the court of Charles II. He took a great interest upon this occasion in obtaining his liberation, accompanied him to Judge Mallet's chambers, upon his first arrival in town, and upon a subsequent imprisonment, some years after, was chiefly instrumental in obtaining for him the same benefit. He ever afterwards retained a most friendly interest for the Society in general, and always remained attached to George Fox. From his station at court, and his office as a magistrate, he had frequent opportunities of interposing his authorities to protect the Quakers from the unjust oppression of their persecutors.

The king being satisfied of his innocence, commanded his secretary to send the following order to Judge Mallet for his release:—

"It is his Majesty's pleasure that you give order for releasing and setting at full liberty, the person of George Fox, late a prisoner in Lancaster jail, and commanded hither by an habeas corpus. And this signification of his Majesty's pleasure, shall be your sufficient warrant. Dated at Whitehall, the 24th of October, 1660.

"EDWARD NICHOLAS."

"For Sir Thomas Mallet, Knight,
One of the Justices of the King's Bench."

"Thus," says G. Fox, "after I had been a prisoner somewhat more than twenty weeks, I was freely set at liberty by the king's command: Porter, who committed me, not daring to appear to make good the charge he had falsely suggested against me, for he was afraid I would take the advantage of the law against him for my wrong imprisonment, and thereby ruin him and his family. And indeed I was pressed

by some in authority, to make him and the rest examples; but I said, I should leave them to the Lord; if He forgave them, I should not trouble myself with them."

Soon after the king's return, Richard Hubberthorn, on behalf of the Quakers, was granted a long audience with Charles II., who asked him numerous questions respecting their principles; and upon expressing himself satisfied with their answers, he commanded the liberation of all those members of this Society who had been imprisoned during the Commonwealth, and gave his kingly word that none should molest them, so long as they lived peaceably. The number so released, amounted to more than seven hundred. It was said also, that an instrument was drawn up by order of the king, to secure to the Quakers their just rights in common with other peaceable subjects; and that this instrument only wanted the official signature for its completion; when on a sudden, the mad plot of the Fifth Monarchy men broke out, and involved all the court for a short time in the greatest alarm. Upon this outbreak, a sort of popular frenzy seized upon the mind of all men desirous for the safety of the present government: the dissenters of all denominations became more or less objects of dread or suspicion; but the brunt of the storm fell with all its fury upon the Quakers, people being naturally suspicious of singularities they did not clearly comprehend, thus their meetings were dispersed, their houses were broken into and searched for arms, their letters were intercepted to discover what massacres, what horrid machinations were plotting by these simple-minded and humble followers of Jesus Christ, one of the leading features of whose doctrine and practice was, "Peace on earth and good will to all men."

Although in no way connected with these mad fanatics, and perfectly innocent of their designs, they were now persecuted afresh in all quarters, and the public jails soon became crowded with them to the amount of many thousands. Some of the leading members of their body drew up a declaration, which was printed and dispersed; stating therein how contrary their principles were to all plots and fightings. The

appearance of this paper somewhat appeased the fury of their persecutors: no more of their houses were suffered to be searched by soldiers, without the presence of a constable; and after a further explanation, and upon urgent entreaties, the king was pleased to order, that all the Quakers imprisoned upon the late suspicion of being concerned in the plot of the Fifth Monarchy Men, should be liberated without any fees. The declaration was presented to the king, on the 21st November, 1660, and is entitled:—

“A DECLARATION FROM THE HARMLESS, INNOCENT PEOPLE OF GOD, CALLED QUAKERS, AGAINST ALL SEDITION, PLOTTERS, AND FIGHTERS IN THE WORLD; FOR REMOVING THE GROUND OF JEALOUSY AND SUSPICION, FROM BOTH MAGISTRATES AND PEOPLE IN THE KINGDOM CONCERNING WARS AND FIGHTINGS.

“Our principle is, and our practices have always been, to seek peace and ensue it, and to follow after righteousness and the knowledge of God; seeking the good and welfare, and doing that which tends to the peace of all. We know that wars and fightings proceed from the lusts of men, as James iv. 1, 3; out of which lusts the Lord hath redeemed us, and so out of the occasion of war. All bloody principles and practices we, as to our own particulars, do utterly deny; with all outward wars and strife, and fightings and outward weapons, for any end, or under any pretence whatsoever; this is our testimony to the whole world.”

It then goes on to state at length, their principles against fighting; and continues, “Our weapons are spiritual, not carnal, yet mighty through God to the pulling down of the strong-holds of sin and Satan, who is the author of wars, fighting, murder, and plots. Our swords are broken into plough-shares, and spears into pruning-hooks, as prophesied of in Micah iv. Therefore we cannot learn war any more, neither rise up against nation or kingdom with outward weapons, though you have numbered us among the transgressors and plotters. The Lord knows our innocency

herein, and will plead our cause with all people upon earth, at the day of their judgment, when all men shall have a reward according to their works."

It concludes, "Oh, Friends! offend not the Lord and his little ones, neither afflict his people; but consider and be moderate. Do not run hotly into things, but mind and consider mercy, justice, and judgment; that is the way for you to prosper, and get the favour of the Lord. Our meetings were stopped and broken up in the days of Oliver, under pretence of plotting against him; in the days of the Committee of Safety we were looked upon as plotters to bring in King Charles; and now our peaceable meetings are termed seditious. Oh! that men should lose their reason, and go contrary to their own conscience; knowing that we have suffered all things, and have been accounted plotters all along, though we have declared against them both by word of mouth and printing, and are clear from any such matter! Though we have suffered all along, because we would not take up carnal weapons to fight against any, and are thus made a prey upon, because we are the innocent lambs of Christ, and cannot avenge ourselves! These things are left upon your hearts to consider; but we are out of all those things, in the patience of the saints; and we know, that as Christ said, 'He that takes the sword, shall perish by the sword.'—Matt. xxvi. 52; Rev. xiii. 10.

"This is given forth from the people called Quakers, to satisfy the king and his council, and all those that have any jealousy concerning us, that all occasion of suspicion may be taken away, and our innocency cleared."

The declaration from which the above has been extracted, was drawn up jointly by George Fox and Richard Hubberton, and when published, was presented to the king by Margaret Fell, who had several interviews with his Majesty about it, and took great pains and much labour to clear the character of the Friends in the eyes of the court, and of those who were then in power.

"A day of fierce retaliation" was now experienced by

many of the old republican party; several of those who had sat in judgment upon Charles I., had been hanged as regicides, and their bodies had been drawn and quartered. Colonel Hacker, who had formerly sent up George Fox a prisoner from Leicester, was among those who suffered upon this occasion. "A sad day it was," says G. Fox, "and a repaying of blood with blood."

During Cromwell's usurpation, many had been hanged, drawn, and quartered for pretended treasons; and G. Fox had been often moved to tell those in power, that this blood would again be required of them, which now proved to be the case. He further says, "there was a secret hand in bringing this day upon that hypocritical generation of professors, who being got into power, grew proud, haughty, and cruel, beyond others, and persecuted the people of God without pity." And so sad a reverse had now befallen this faction, that a "great fear, trembling, and quaking," seized upon all those, who in the day of their power, had derided the Friends, and nicknamed them Quakers; and gladly now would have been many of these once towering spirits, to have concealed themselves among those whom they had formerly so much despised. In the following strain, he complains of the uncharitable conduct of those men when in power, towards the Quakers.

"Oh, the daily reproaches, revilings, and beatings we underwent, even on the highways, because we would not put off our hats to them, and for saying thou and thee to them. Oh! the havoc and spoil which the priests made of our goods, because we would not give them tithes—besides being cast into prisons, and great fines laid upon us, because we could not swear: for all these things did the Lord God plead with them. And when this day of overturning was come upon them I was moved to write to them and ask, 'Did we ever resist when you took away our ploughs, our carts and horses, our cattle and corn, our kettles and platters, from us; and whipped us and set us in the stocks, and cast us into prison; and all this for only serving and worshipping God in spirit and in truth, and because we could not conform to your reli-

gion, manners, customs, and fashions? Did we ever resist you? Did we not give our backs to you to beat, and our cheeks to pluck off the hair, and our faces to spit upon? You thought to have wearied out and ruined us, but you ruined yourselves; whereas we can praise God, notwithstanding all your plunderings of us, that we have a kettle, a platter, a horse, and a plough, still.' ”

The ministers of all the different religious sects, during this era of polemical disputation, however hostile they were to each other, yet all united in one common persecution of the Quakers, because these latter openly unmasked their hypocrisy to the people, by exhibiting to them the fruits of their unchristian doctrines and conduct. They evidently “knew not what manner of spirit they were off;” for one Hewes of Plymouth, a priest of great note in his day, had prayed publicly, “That God would put it into the hearts of the chief magistrates, to remove this cursed toleration.” Others also had prayed against it as, “the intolerable toleration,” as a “root of gall and bitterness,” and as “soul poison.”

CHAPTER XII.

1660—1663. Cruel persecution of the Quakers by the Puritans at Boston in New England—Legitimacy of the Quakers' marriages—Addresses the Bishops—Addresses the King—Imprisoned at Leicester—Remarkable instances of divine judgment upon several of their persecutors—Intolerance of the Church party after the Restoration.

"Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul: but rather fear Him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell."—Matt. x. 28.

"Wo unto the world because of offences! for it must needs be that offences come; but wo to that man by whom the offence cometh!"—Matt. xviii. 7.

The principles and tenets of the Quakers had now been so widely spread abroad, that they had found their way into several of the protestant States of Europe, and into many of our colonies. At the puritanical settlement of Boston, in New England, the converts to their novel opinions were so barbarously persecuted, that had not the facts been upon authentic record, they would surpass all belief.

These unworthy descendants of the enthusiastic but oppressed puritans who had fled into the wilds of America, to establish a church free from all the superstitious practices of popery, and at the same time to escape the persecutions set on foot by the unwise policy of Archbishop Laud; and who thus having gained the free exercise of their own conscientious scruples, were determined that the toleration which had been denied to themselves, should be granted to no other set of men: for they not only wantonly persecuted the Quakers by the infliction of fines, tortures, and imprisonments, but visited with death no less than four individuals, William Robinson, Marmaduke Stevenson, Mary Diar, and William Leddra, who were immolated upon the shrine of their *intolerant religious conformity*, for no other transgression than that of being followers of G. Fox. For this heinous offence, they had been banished the colony upon pain of

death, should they ever return, and they all four suffered the extreme penalty of this enactment written in blood, being impelled by a sense of religious duty to return, and fearlessly protest against this illegal and unchristian edict, equally opposed to the law of God and the law of the land.

Archbishop Laud, in the rigour of his church government, had revived the act of Queen Elizabeth which imposed a fine of one shilling upon the master of every family absenting himself from his parish church on a Sunday. But in proof of how far a mistaken zeal will carry men into error, and how far the gospel precepts may be corrupted by any admixture of worldly policy, these puritans, upon the appearance of Quakerism in their territories, not only inflicted a fine of five shillings for the same offence, but afterwards enacted, that upon the first appearance of any Quaker upon their coasts, he should be imprisoned and have his right ear cut off; for the second offence, he should lose his other ear; that all women should be whipped for the same offences; and that for the third offence, man or woman should be bored through the tongue with a red hot iron. The severity of these enactments, and the patience and fortitude with which they were borne, tended to increase rather than suppress Quakerism; therefore, in 1658, they were followed up by an act, making it a crime subject to banishment upon pain of death. And thus "was Laud justified by the men whom he had wronged."* The same writer informs us, "that it was said the Quakers themselves rushed upon the sword, and so were suicides. If it were so," he justly adds, "the men who held the swords were accessories to the crime."† And again, that the council of this colony pleaded in their own justification, "They desired their lives absent, rather than their deaths present," which was the miserable apology for their proceedings."‡ The same author acknowledges, that "America was guilty of the death of four individuals, who fell victims rather to the contest of will, than to the opinion that Quakerism was a capital crime;"§ the guilt of their

* Bancroft's America, vol. ii. p. 190.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid. vol. i. p. 456.

death was then more unpardonable. Again, "These victims of intolerance met death bravely, and they would be entitled to perpetual honour, were it not that their own extravagancies occasioned the foul enactment, to repel which, they laid down their lives."* The "foul enactment" was contrary to the laws of England, and to the moral law of God, and was, therefore, murder; and the same writer in another place admits, that "a fault against manners may not be punished by a crime against nature."† As a testimony of the abhorrence with which these doings were viewed by disinterested and impartial strangers, we shall insert a letter of Thomas Wilkie, who accidentally witnessed the execution of William Leddra.

"Boston, March 26th, 1661.

"On the 14th of this instant, one William Leddra was put to death here. The people of the town told me, he might go away if he would; but when I made farther inquiry, I heard the marshal say, that he was chained in prison from the time he was condemned to the day of his execution. I am not of his opinion: but yet truly methought the Lord did mightily appear in the man. I went to one of the magistrates of Cambridge, who had been of the jury that condemned him, as he told me himself, and I asked him by what rule he did it? He answered me, that he was a rogue, a very rogue. But what is this to the question, said I; where is your rule? He said, he had abused authority. Then I went after the man, and asked him, whether he did not look on it as a breach of rule to slight and undervalue authority? And I said, that Paul gave Festus the title of honour, though he was a heathen. (I do not mean to say that these magistrates are heathens.) When the man was on the ladder, he looked on me and called me friend, and said, know that this day I am willing to offer up my life for the witness of Jesus. Then I desired leave of the officers to speak, and said, gentlemen, I am a stranger both to your persons and country,

* Bancroft's America, vol. i. p. 458.

† Ibid. p. 454.

yet a friend of both: and I cried aloud, for the Lord's sake, take not away the man's life; but remember Gamaliel's counsel to the Jews: 'If it be of man, it will come to naught, but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it: but be careful ye be not found fighters against God.' And the captain said, why had you not come to the prison? The reason was, because I heard the man might go if he would; and therefore I called him down from the tree, and said, come down, William, you may go away if you will. Then Captain Oliver said it was no such matter; and asked me, what I had to do with it? and besides bade me begone: and I told them, I was willing, for I cannot endure to see this. And when I was in the town, some did seem to sympathize with me in my grief. But I told them, they had no warrant from the word of God, nor precedent from our country, nor power from his Majesty, to hang the man.

"I rest your friend,

"THOMAS WILKIE."

"To Mr. George Lad, master of the *America*,
of Dartmouth, now at Barbadoes."*

While the trial of this last victim to church conformity was proceeding, and just after he had appealed to the laws of England, claiming to be tried by them, the whole court was suddenly struck with dumb amazement, by the unexpected appearance of Wenlock Christison, another Quaker also banished from the colony under a similar penalty, and who now boldly came into court. This unlooked for event so petrified the court, that silence ensued for some time, till at last one of the "bloody council" cried, "Here is another, fetch him to the bar." Secretary Rawson.—"Is not your name Wenlock Christison? Prisoner.—"Yea." Governor Endicot.—"Wast thou not banished upon pain of death?" Prisoner.—"Yea, I was, and I am come here to warn you that you should shed no more innocent blood; for the blood that you have already shed, cries to the Lord God for ven-

* Sewell's History of Friends, vol. i. p. 466.

geance to come upon you." Whereupon he was taken into custody and sent to jail. In the course of a few days, no less than four more Quakers, denounced under the same ban, made their appearance in Boston.

Wenlock Christison was brought up several times in the course of his trial. He firmly and undauntedly pleaded: "I have done nothing worthy of death; if I had, I refuse not to die." "I shall not change my religion, nor seek to save my life, neither do I intend to deny my Master; but if I lose my life for Christ's sake, and the preaching of the gospel, I shall save my life." "I came not in among you in rebellion, but in obedience to the God of heaven—not in contempt to any of you, but in love to your souls and bodies; and that you shall know one day, when you and all men must give an account of the deeds done in the body. Take heed, for you cannot escape the righteous judgments of God." Here, he was interrupted by Major-General Adderton, who said, "You pronounce woes and judgments, and those that are gone before you, pronounced woes and judgments; but the judgments of the Lord God are not come upon us yet." Prisoner, solemnly addressing the major, said, "Be not proud, neither let your spirit be lifted up; God doth but wait till the measure of your iniquity be filled up, and that you have run your ungodly race; then will the wrath of God come upon you to the uttermost. And as for thy part, it hangs over thy head, and is near to be poured down upon thee, and shall come as a thief in the night, suddenly, when thou thinkest not of it."

This prophecy was soon afterwards fulfilled, and the major-general was stretched a mutilated and disgusting corpse; for proudly returning from parade, mounted upon his charger, he was suddenly thrown by the animal's taking fright, and at the same spot where the Quakers had been usually whipped. He fell with such violence, "that his eyes were forced out of his head, his brains out of his nose, his tongue out of his mouth, and his blood out of his ears."

Wenlock Christison further pleaded, "You have made laws repugnant to the law of England; you have gone be-

yond bounds, and have forfeited your patent." "Are ye subjects of the king? If so, I am so also, and for any thing I know, am as good, if not better than you; for if the king did but know your hearts as God knows them, he would see that they are as rotten towards him, as they are towards God.* Seeing, therefore, that you and I are subjects to the king, I demand to be tried by the laws of my own nation."

After the jury had brought in their verdict of "guilty," the Governor, Endicot, said, "The jury hath condemned thee." Prisoner.—"The Lord doth justify me; who art thou that condemnest?" The solemn firmness with which he pleaded his own cause, threw such consternation into the court, that the council were now divided in their opinion, so much so, as to stop their giving a unanimous judgment. The governor, seeing this division, rose up much enraged, and precipitately pronounced the sentence of death. Prisoner.—"The will of the Lord be done, in whose will I came among you, and in whose counsel I stand, feeling his eternal power that will uphold me in the last gasp. Moreover, be it known unto you all, that if ye have power to take my life from me, my soul shall enter into everlasting rest and peace with God, where you yourselves shall never come. And if ye have power to take my life from me, the which I do question, I do believe you shall never more take Quakers' lives from them: note my words; do not think to weary out the living God by taking away the lives of his servants. What do ye gain by it? for the last man that you have put to death, here are five come in his room. And if ye have

* Charles II. knew well how to value the loyalty of his New England subjects, for it had been reported to him, what one of their council had said in derision to a Quaker, who upon his trial had before this appealed to the laws of England. Major General Denison told him, in reply to his appeal, "This year you will go complain to the Parliament; the next year they will send some one to see into it; and the third year the government will be changed." The king took much notice of this speech, and calling the attention of some Lords to it, who were present, said, "Lo, these are my good subjects of New England; but I will put a stop to them."—*Sawell's History of Friends*, vol. i. p. 472.

power to take my life from me, God can raise up the same principle of life in ten of his servants, and send them among you in my room, that you may have torment upon torment, which is your portion; for there is no peace to the wicked, saith my God."

He was then led back to prison, and, after the space of five days, was set at liberty, with twenty-seven more of his persuasion; the marshal saying, "he was ordered by the court to make them acquainted with their new law." "What," said Wenlock, "have ye a new law?" "Are your hands now become weak?" "The power of God is over you all."

For a full account of all these proceedings, the reader is referred to the first vol. of *Sewell's History of Friends*. A more noble example of undaunted self devotion, and of perfect Christian resignation to the will of God, is not upon record. Should any one be inclined to charge their conduct with a mistaken enthusiasm, let them consider that the great blessings of the glorious reformation were sealed to us by the blood of the early martyrs, poured out under the influence of the same enthusiasm; for what martyr ever died without similarly devoted feelings, and similar inward consolations of supernatural support? A well-directed enthusiasm is one of our noblest motives—without it, there is no true devotion of character—without it, nothing great and good was ever achieved.

The following year, Governor Endicot was cut off "by a loathsome disease, that he stunk alive, and died of rottenness." "Norton, the chief priest of Boston," and the principal instigator of these persecutions, was also cut off about the same time; one Sunday afternoon, while walking in his house, he groaned and fell, exclaiming, "The hand, or the judgments of the Lord are upon me." These were his last words, and he would have fallen into the fire, had not some one caught him. Bellingham, who succeeded Endicot as the Governor, was also a fierce oppressor of the Quakers, "and after ten years, went distracted, and died mad." Thus, in "the measure of their iniquity," the judgments of God were poured out upon them.

George Fox says, "when these Friends were put to death, I was in prison at Lancaster Castle, and had a perfect sense of their sufferings, as though it had been myself, and as though the halter had been put about my own neck, though we had not at that time heard of it." No sooner, however, did the news arrive, than the Society became much alarmed for the safety of those of its members who were still in the power of the court at Boston, and Edward Burrough waited upon the king, and told him, "that there was a vein of innocent blood opened in his dominions, which, if it were not stopped, would overrun all." To which the king replied, "but I will stop that vein." Edward Burrough said, "then do it speedily, for we know not how many may soon be put to death." The king answered, "as speedily as ye will." "Call," said he to some present, "the secretary, and I will do it presently." Upon his arrival, the following mandamus was forthwith granted.

"CHARLES REX.

"Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you all. Having been informed, that several of our subjects amongst you, called Quakers, have been and are imprisoned by you, whereof some have been executed, and others, as hath been represented unto us, are in danger to undergo the like, we have thought fit to signify our pleasure in that behalf for the future; and do hereby require, that if there be any of those people called Quakers, amongst you, now already condemned to suffer death or other corporal punishment, or that are imprisoned, and obnoxious to the like condemnation, you are to forbear to proceed any further therein; but that you forthwith send the said persons, whether condemned or imprisoned, over into this our kingdom of England, together with the respective crimes or offences laid to their charge: to the end such course may be taken with them here, as shall be agreeable to our laws and their demerits. And for so doing, these our letters shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge.

"Given at our Court at Whitehall, the 9th day of September, 1661, in the thirtieth year of our reign."

Subscribed.—To our trusty and well-beloved John Endicot, Esq.; and to all and every the governor or governors of our plantations of New England, and to all the colonies thereunto belonging, that now are, or hereafter shall be: and to all and every the ministers and officers of our plantations and colonies whatsoever, within the continent of New England.

“By His Majesty’s command,
“WILLIAM MORRIS ”

This official document was intrusted to Samuel Shattock, a Quaker, deputed by the king, and one who had been banished from Boston upon pain of death, should he ever return. Upon the arrival of the ship, the Governor Endicot and his officers were not a little surprised at again beholding this man, not only the king’s deputy and bearing his mandamus, but bringing with him also a ship-load of Quakers.

In 1661, a deputation from New England came over to congratulate the king upon his accession to the throne of his ancestors. George Fox took this opportunity of remonstrating with them upon their late unjustifiable doings, and in company with several of his friends, he had an interview with them, in which Simon Broadstreet, one of the magistrates of Boston, who had sat in judgment upon the Quakers, acknowledged to George Fox that they considered themselves subjects of the king, and amenable to the laws of England; but pleaded that they had put the Quakers to death by the same law by which Jesuits were put to death in England.

G. Fox. “Do ye believe that those Friends who have so suffered were Jesuits, or even Jesuitically inclined?”

Deputies. “No.”

G. Fox. “Then you have murdered them, by your own confession, because you say they were no Jesuits, and yet you put them to death by the law against Jesuits here. By this it plainly appears that you put them to death by your own will, and without any law.”

Finding themselves insnared in their own words, they became alarmed, and asked, “If he came to catch them?”

G. Fox. "Ye have caught yourselves, and may be justly questioned as to your lives, and in all probability some of the relatives of the parties so murdered, not being Friends, may question you and bring you into jeopardy."

Soon afterwards these deputies took their departure from London, glad to get safely back again to New England, for some of the old royalists were very urgent with the Quakers to prosecute them, which, however, they refused to do, as their principle was, "to leave them to the Lord, to whom vengeance belongeth," knowing that he would repay it.

George Fox then had an interview with Governor Winthrop, who was also in England, and who was the governor of the adjoining territory of Connecticut. Winthrop assured him, "that he had no hand in putting the Friends to death, or in any way persecuting them; but was one of them that protested against it." In this colony an opposite policy was pursued to that of Massachusetts, and all Christians were tolerated. The younger Winthrop was a true Christian in character, and a gentleman in feeling. He was received at court with great cordiality, and treated with marked courtesy and affability, both by Charles and his ministers; for Connecticut, under his sway, had been made a safe refuge for many a distressed royalist. "There was nothing morose in the character of this colony. It was temperate, industry enjoying the abundance which it had created." "No narrow bigotry limited Winthrop's affections or his esteem; and when the Quakers had become the objects of persecution in Massachusetts, he was earnest and unremitting in argument and entreaty to prevent the effusion of blood." *

In this year appeared a curious little book, called *The Battledoore*, compiled by John Stubbs and Benjamin Furley, at the instigation of George Fox, and was written to prove that *Thee* and *Thou* is a proper and usual form of speech to a single person, and *you* to more than one. Examples were taken out of the scriptures, and from books of instruction and grammars of thirty different languages. A copy was pre-

* Bancroft's United States, vol. ii. pp. 57, 59

sented to the king and his council, to the bishops, and to the universities, which distribution, he says, "had the effect of informing and convincing people, so that few after its publication, were so *rugged* to them for saying Thou and Thee."

At this time, he addressed the following lines to the bishops and clergy, in behalf of religious freedom; for they were now very zealous in the re-establishment of their Episcopal government and form of worship, and also for the putting down of nonconformists.

"Christ's worship is free in the spirit to all men; and such as worship in the spirit and in the truth, are those whom God seeks to worship Him: for he is the God of truth, and is a Spirit, and the God of the spirits of all flesh. He hath given to all nations breath and life, to live and move, and have their being in Him; and hath put into them an immortal soul. So all nations are to be temples for Him to dwell in; and them that defile his temple will He destroy." He then describes the Jews and their outward temple, and continues, "Christ's church was never established by blood, nor held up by prisons; neither was the foundation of it laid by carnal-weaponed men, nor is it preserved by such. But when men went from the spirit and truth, they took up carnal weapons to maintain their outward forms, and yet they cannot preserve them with the carnal weapons; for one plucketh down another's *form* with his outward weapons. And *this* work hath been among the Christians in name, since they lost the spirit, and spiritual weapons, and the true worship which Christ set up, which is in the spirit and in the truth." "All that would be plucking up the tares are forbidden by Christ, who hath all power in heaven and earth given to Him; for the tares and the wheat must grow together till the harvest, as Christ hath commanded." "All that say they travail for the Seed,* and yet bring forth nothing but a birth

* Seed, a term often used by him in reference to our Saviour, the Life, the Power of God. By the pure holy Seed, meaning Christ, the promised Seed, as we read in that remarkable prediction, Genesis iii. 15.

of strife, contention, and confusion, their fruit shows their travail to be wrong; for by the fruit, the end of every one's work is seen, of what sort it is.

“GEORGE FOX.”

It was some time during this year that he was engaged in a second dispute with two Jesuits; for many of this order had come over in the train of the court, the king's brother being an avowed Catholic. These priests began now to be very busy, and by means of their emissaries, they were striving every where, either to gain over the sectarians, or to widen the breach between them and the Episcopalians; shrewdly calculating upon a good chance of once more planting themselves in this forbidden soil, provided the mutual animosities of the opposing factions should drive each party to extremities. With this object in view, they now began “to fawn upon the Quakers,” noticing them very much, and telling them, that of all the sects they were the best and the most self-denying; and that it was a pity they did not return to the holy mother church, who stood ready to receive them into her bosom. G. Fox, in company with several other Friends, met by appointment two of this order, who, he says, “looked like courtiers.” He began his argument by putting the same question he had made use of before in his former dispute, and asked the Jesuits, “Whether the church of Rome was not degenerated from the church in the primitive times; from the spirit, and power, and practice that they were in, in the apostles' time?”

The one to whom this was addressed declined answering this question, but would give no reason why; his companion, however, said, “They were not degenerated from the church in the primitive time.”

G. Fox, to the first. “Art thou of the same opinion?”

The first Jesuit signified his assent.

G. Fox, in order to give no room for the plea of a misunderstanding, re-stated the question in these words, “Whether the Church of Rome now was in the same purity, practice, power and spirit, in which the church in the apostles' time was?”

The Jesuits, perceiving how exact and close G. Fox would be with them, began to shift their ground, and said, "It would be presumption in any to say that they had the same power and spirit which the apostles had."

G. Fox. "It is presumption in you to meddle with the words of Christ and his apostles, and make people believe ye have succeeded the apostles, and yet be forced to confess that ye are not in the same power and spirit that the apostles were in. This is a spirit of presumption, and rebuked by the apostles' spirit."

He then declared to them, how different their fruits and practices were from the fruits and practices of the apostles, which gave so much umbrage to his opponents, that one of them said, "Ye are a company of dreamers."

G. Fox. "Nay, ye are the dreamers, who dream ye are the apostles' successors; and yet confess ye have not the same power and spirit which the apostles had. Now, if ye have not the same power and spirit that the apostles had, then it is manifest ye are led by another power and spirit than the apostles and church, in the primitive times, were led by. It is the evil spirit by which ye are led, that has led you to pray by beads and to images, &c., &c., and to put people to death for their religion; which practice of yours is below the law, and short of the gospel, in which is liberty." "They were soon weary," he says, "of this discourse, and went their way; and gave a charge, as we heard, to the Papists, 'that they should not dispute with us, nor read any of our books:' so we were rid of them."

A cause of great importance to the Quakers was tried this year at Nottingham assizes, upon the decision of which depended the legality of all the marriages hitherto contracted among this people. A Quaker died leaving his wife with child, together with a copyhold estate in lands; after the widow's delivery, a kinsman of the deceased husband endeavoured to prove the child illegitimate, and his counsel, to make good his case, pleaded that the Quakers did not legally marry, but went together like brute beasts.

Judge Archer, in summing up the case, told the jury,

“that there was a marriage in Paradise when Adam took Eve, and Eve took Adam; and that it was the consent of the parties that made a marriage. He did not know the opinion of the Quakers, but he did not believe that they went together, as had been most unbecomingly asserted, ‘like brute beasts,’ but as Christians, and therefore he did believe the marriage was lawful, and the child a lawful heir.” And further, to satisfy the jury, he related the following case. “A man that was weak of body, and kept his bed, had a desire, in that condition to marry, and did declare before witnesses, that he did take such a woman to be his wife; and the woman declared, that she took that man to be her husband. The marriage was afterwards called in question; but all the bishops did at that time conclude it to be a lawful marriage.” The jury having received this instruction, gave their verdict for the child, and declared it legitimate.

1662. The following address to the king was drawn up in conjunction with Richard Hubberthorn, and presented to him some time this year. It was called forth in consequence of “very many Friends being in prison in the nation.”

“TO THE KING,

“Friend, who art the chief ruler of these dominions, here is a list of some of the sufferings of the people of God in scorn called Quakers, that have suffered under the changeable powers before thee, by whom they have been imprisoned, and under whom they have suffered for a good conscience’ sake, and for bearing testimony to the truth, as it is in Jesus, ‘three thousand one hundred and seventy-three persons;’ and there lie yet in prison in the name of the Commonwealth, ‘seventy-three persons,’ that we know of. And there died in prison, in the time of the Commonwealth, and of Oliver and Richard, the Protectors, through cruel and hard imprisonments, upon nasty straw, and in dungeons, ‘thirty-two persons.’ There have been also imprisoned in thy name, since thy arrival, by such as thought to ingratiate themselves thereby with thee, ‘three thousand sixty and eight persons.’ Besides this, our meetings are daily broken up by men with

clubs and arms, though we meet peaceably, according to the practice of God's people in the primitive times, and our Friends are thrown into waters and trod upon, till the very blood gusheth out of them; the number of which abuses can hardly be uttered. Now this we would have of thee, to set them at liberty that lie in prison in the name of the Commonwealth, and of the two Protectors, and them that lie in thy own name, for speaking the truth, and for good conscience' sake, who have not lifted up a hand against thee or any man; and that the meetings of our Friends, who meet peaceably together in the fear of God, to worship him, may not be broken up by rude people, with their clubs, and swords, and staves. One of the greatest things we have suffered for, formerly was, because we could not swear to the Protectors, and all the changeable governments; and now we are imprisoned because we cannot take the oath of allegiance. Now, if our yea be not yea, and nay, nay, to thee, and to all men upon earth, let us suffer as much for breaking that, as others do for breaking an oath. We have suffered these many years, both in lives and estates, under these changeable governments, because we cannot swear, but obey Christ's doctrine, who commands, 'we should not swear at all,' Matt. v., James v., and this we seal with our lives and estates, with our yea and nay, according to the doctrine of Christ. Hearken to these things, and so consider them in the wisdom of God, that by it such actions may be stopped; thou that hast the government, and mayst do it. We desire that all that are in prison may be set at liberty, and that for the time to come, they may not be imprisoned for conscience and for truth's sake; and if thou question the innocence of their sufferings, let them and their accusers be brought up before thee, and we will produce a more particular and full account of their sufferings, if required.

"G. F. and R. H."

The striking peculiarity of this address is the abruptness of the style, and the deficiency of proper courtesy due from a subject to his sovereign, which pervades throughout; but

when we take into consideration, the long catalogue of grievous and unjustifiable wrongs therein enumerated, that these had been reiterated by the suffering party with scarcely a shadow of redress, and that all these evils were now inflicted in direct contradiction to the king's proclamation from Breda, and also of his own royal word of promise to the Quakers after his restoration; it is quite possible that the style was intentional on the part of the writers, who like the rest of his subjects, had by this time found that the fair promises of Charles II. were not to be relied upon; and, therefore, in this instance, felt it their duty to confine themselves to a manly and straight-forward statement of the truth of their grievances. It certainly offers an exception to the generally respectful tenor of the addresses of this body, which are by no means wanting in proper courtesy.

The following paper was also put forth by George Fox, concerning the ground of persecution.

"All the sufferings of the people of God in all ages, were, because they could not join the national religions and worships, which men made and set up, and because they would not forsake God's religion, and his worship which he had set up. You may see from all chronicles and histories, that the priests joined with the power of the nations; the magistrates, the soothsayers, and fortune-tellers, all joined against the people of God, and did imagine vain things against them in their councils. When the Jews did wickedly, they turned against Moses; when the Jewish Kings transgressed against the law of God, they persecuted the prophets, as may be seen in their writings. When Christ the substance came, the Jews persecuted Christ, his apostles and disciples. And when the Jews had not power enough of themselves to persecute answerable to their wills, then they got the heathen Gentiles to help them against Christ, and against his apostles and disciples, who were in the power and spirit of Christ.

"G. F."

An occurrence at this time took place which affords a

specimen of the kind of rude treatment to which Quakers were subjected at their religious meetings, even from the people of the higher classes. An ambassador, in company with an Irish colonel and some other riotous officers, came one day to the meeting at Pall Mall, with the intention of disturbing the meeting and dispersing the Friends. But the meeting having broken up just before the arrival, George Fox had stepped into an adjoining room, from which, however, he was soon brought back again by the great disturbance and uproar that suddenly burst forth. Upon re-entering the meeting-house, he found the colonel storming and threatening, "that he would kill all the Quakers," upon which George Fox relates, "he was moved of the Lord to speak to him, and to tell him, that the old law enjoined 'an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth;' but thou threatenest to kill all the Quakers, although they have done thee no hurt." He then said, "But here is gospel for thee, here is my hair, here is my cheek, here is my shoulder;" and suiting the action to the word, he turned his cheek and back to the smiter, which took so sudden an effect upon him and his companions, that they stood gazing with amazement; and the colonel at last said, "If that is your principle, and you act thereby, we never met with such men before." George Fox replied, "What he was in words he was the same in life." They then entered upon an explanatory discourse, which ended in a mutual good understanding, and they parted on friendly terms; "for," he continues, "the truth came over them, and the colonel as well as the ambassador carried themselves very lovingly towards the Friends, the Lord's power being over all."

The oath of allegiance and supremacy being made a great handle of persecution against the Quakers, George Fox circulated the following laconic and quaint paper upon the occasion, in which he indulges in a curious play upon the words:—

"The world saith, 'kiss the book;' but the book saith, 'kiss the Son, lest He be angry;' and the Son saith, 'swear not at all;' but keep to yea and nay in all your communica-

tions; for whatsoever is more than this cometh of evil.' Again, the world saith, 'lay your hand on the book;' but the book saith, 'handle the word;' and the word saith, 'handle not traditions,' nor the inventions nor the rudiments of the world. And God saith, 'This is my beloved Son, hear ye Him;' who is the life, the truth, the light, and the way of God. "G. F."

His ministerial labours for the remaining part of this, and a great portion of the next year, were directed to visiting different parts of the kingdom; through which he travelled mostly accompanied by one or two other Friends. In these journies, a great tract of ground was often passed over in a small space of time; for his stay at the different places was generally very short, the meetings being mostly appointed before, or upon his arrival; and as soon as he had relieved his mind of what he felt himself called upon to communicate, he passed onward to another spot.

The meetings of the Quakers and their doctrines being now objects of much attention to the Episcopal clergy, who, entertaining great jealousy of them, resorted to every measure in their power to put them down. And thus, although the counties he passed through might sometimes be said to be up in arms for his apprehension, still, from the rapidity of his movements, he almost always missed falling in with the officers and others sent in pursuit of him; for they mostly came either after the meetings had dispersed, or after his departure; so that a vulgar opinion arose in the minds of the credulous, that, owing to some sort of witchcraft, he could not be taken.

The counties of Berkshire, Wiltshire, Leicestershire, Essex, and the eastern counties; and afterwards Kent, Sussex, and the south-western counties, as far as Cornwall, were passed through during these journeys. At Swanington, in Leicestershire, he was taken into custody by order of Lord Beaumont, an officer of dragoons and a magistrate, who by mittimus consigned him, with several other Friends to Leicester jail. This arrest taking place during the time of harvest,

they had great difficulty to get the mittimus properly served, or to procure any one to take charge of the prisoners; for the people being all busy in the fields, were unwilling to convey their peaceable neighbours to prison. The Quakers were then requested to carry their own mittimus, and to surrender themselves prisoners upon it; a stronger proof than this could not be produced of the innocence of their characters, or of the injustice of the proceedings against them. This, however, they very properly refused to do, alleging, that if the magistrates chose to send them to prison for no offence, they might do it at their own charge. At last a poor labouring man was reluctantly prevailed upon to take them to Leicester, a distance of about fifteen miles. As they passed through the busy corn-fields, travelling in open carts, with their Bibles in their hands, they frequently stopped to preach; for the people naturally crowded round them, to know the reason of their being thus sent to jail in the time of harvest.

Upon their arrival at the jail at Leicester, they found many more of their friends in the same predicament, amounting altogether to twenty-three persons, and after lying for seven weeks in jail till the quarter sessions, they were examined and discharged. George Fox held many great meetings in the prison yard, to which numbers flocked every Sunday, both from the town and the neighbouring country; so famous had his name now become, that, whether in prison *or free*, his doctrine spread every where, and attracted the attention of the virtuous and good, many of whom daily joined themselves to his followers. While in this prison, some of his friends in London procured a letter from Lord Hastings in his behalf, ordering the magistrates to release him immediately. This letter, however, he would not produce in court, choosing rather to stand with his friends upon the injustice and illegality of their commitment; but after their enlargement, he rode over to Lord Beaumont's and showed him the letter, who appeared a little disconcerted at its contents, and lowered his carriage to George Fox and the Quakers.

Upon another occasion, at Tenterden, in Kent, himself

and his companion were taken up by some soldiers and brought before the mayor, who, being a reasonable man, was satisfied with their own account of themselves, and set them at liberty. Numerous, however, were the hair-breadth escapes he experienced during these travels; for sometimes he rode out of one gate of an inn, whilst the officers in pursuit of him entered at the other; and often he escaped through being in a garden, or in an adjoining field, while they were searching the house for him. "The Lord," he says, "by his good providence delivered me and prevented the mischievous design of my enemies."

In some counties, the Quakers' meetings had been disturbed by warrants from magistrates, in which the officers were required to carry them before a justice. In these instances, the Friends knowing themselves to be entirely clear of any plottings or unlawful designs, very properly refused to go, unless they were carried by constraint, and the constables were therefore not only obliged to hire horses and carts, but also to lift the Quakers bodily into them, in order to convey them before the nearest justice, who, as it often happened, lived some miles off; and if he chanced to be a moderate man, and had notice of their approach, would get out of the way, rather than be instrumental in imprisoning of his neighbours, and then they were obliged to seek the abode of some other justice. Thus days were sometimes consumed in carting the Friends about from place to place, to the no small inconvenience of the constables, with regard both to loss of time and expense; for which they could afterwards get no compensation, the parishes refusing to indemnify them. They were, therefore, ashamed and tired of this business, and were glad to leave their neighbours in peace.

It was generally remarked among the Quakers, that those men who had been their fierce persecutors often lived to experience sad reverses, which they looked upon as judgments for their evil deeds; either their estates wasted away, so that from great affluence they were reduced to want, or they were afflicted in their families, or were cut off suddenly in some remarkable manner.

Thus Justice Sawrey, who was the first persecutor of the Society about Swarthmore, perished shortly afterwards by drowning. In Somersetshire, a worthless fellow, followed by some rude companions, came into a meeting, dressed up in a bear-skin, and sitting himself down before the person who was then addressing the congregation, he lolled out his tongue in a disgusting manner, and otherwise conducted himself shamefully, turning the solemnity of worship into ridicule. But in going from this meeting, he stopped in the way, in his masquerade dress, to partake of the cruel sport of bull-baiting, where the enraged bull ran at him, and struck him so violently with one of his horns, that it entered just under the man's chin, passing upwards into his head, and in its passage thrust out his tongue exactly in the same way in which he had thrust it out so lately in derision at the meeting. In this dreadful condition, he was swung about upon the bull's horn, a sad spectacle to all beholders, and an awful example to others. In this instance, it must be remembered, that an assembly of serious people had been mocked and interrupted in the performance of their public worship of Almighty God, in the manner agreeable to their ideas of the spirit and truth of the sincere worship He required at their hands. The insult and derision thrown upon them, was therefore equally offered to that divine power whose people they might justly be said to be.

1663. Prior to the overthrow of the Commonwealth, the persecution of the Quakers had arisen chiefly from the clergy of the presbyterians, independents, and baptists, who, in establishing their own separate tenets, condemned all others as heresies, and had shown themselves, in their oppression and bigotry, to be as intolerant of all other doctrines as papists, and equally fierce in resisting every contradiction of opinion as the Church of Rome. Upon the restoration of the Crown, and the re-establishment of the Episcopal hierarchy, the church again came into power, smarting from the recent indignities and persecutions of the presbyterian and independent churches. Unsubdued by her late sufferings, and forgetting that her former intolerance had been the prin-

cial cause of bringing those reverses upon herself, she now seemed "but little disposed to the exercise of any Christian charity," but preferred, rather, by a system of retaliation, to gratify her vengeance by the total overthrow of her adversaries, the presbyterians, and of all other sectarians.

Far more creditable would it have been to her character, as a Christian church, had the historic page, in this place, recorded, that upon emerging from her exile, she had thrown aside all her animosities, together with her idol "Religious Conformity," and had first tried to conciliate the bulk of the dissenters by milder proceedings, and thus had proved herself to be really a Catholic church and not a factious sect. But alas! the facts are otherwise, and only show that the spirit of popish persecution, with the sole exception of the Quakers, pervaded equally all the different Christian communities: offering a most humiliating proof that to secure the power, and to establish the temporal policy of the church, was of greater importance to the clergy, than the propagation of true Christian principles; for the grand object of Christianity is to change the heart, and not to establish a uniformity of outward forms. "A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another; as I have loved you, that ye also love one another. By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another."—John xiii. 34, 35.

Churchmen, in their blind zeal for "Conformity," seemed to have overlooked that the Reformation had thrown open to all men the holy writings—the only outward rule for doctrine—and which teach us, that "the grace of God that bringeth salvation, and hath appeared to all men," (Titus ii. 2,) is the free gift of God, and is sufficient in itself to lead us to that living faith in Christ, our only salvation. Hence, this grace is our only inward rule. To these two sure and unerring rules, therefore, all Christians are imperiously called upon to conform, both in precept and in life; but not to the dogmas of learned theologians, nor to the different systems of worship set up by men in their own wisdom, and mixed up with worldly policies. The events of this period prove,

that the conformity insisted upon by the latter, only engenders pride, hatred, and persecution; whilst that of the former shows itself, "in the fruit of the Spirit, which is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance."—Gal. v. 22.

D'Aubigné tells us in his *History of the Reformation*, "If faith in Christ is the beginning and end of Christianity, it follows, that to the word of Christ men must cling, and not to that of the church. Nay, more: if faith joins souls, what need is there of an outward bond? Is it creeds, or bulls, or consecrations, that effect their holy union? Faith joins in spiritual and real union all those in whose hearts it fixes its dwelling. Thus vanishes, at one blow, the triple illusion of meritorious works, human traditions, and spurious unity. This is the whole system of Roman Catholicism." *

Hume tells us, "that on the 25th of March, 1661, a conference was held in the Savoy, between twelve bishops and twelve leaders among the Presbyterian ministers, with an intention, at least on pretence, of bringing about an accommodation between the parties. The surplice, the cross in baptism, the kneeling at the sacrament, the bowing at the name of Jesus, were anew canvassed; and the ignorant multitude were in hopes that so many men of gravity and learning could not fail, after deliberate argumentation, to agree in all points of controversy. They were surprised to find them separate more inflamed than ever, and more confirmed in their several prejudices." †

Bishop Burnet, speaking of the same event, informs us, "that the breach between the church and the Presbyterians was widened by this formal interview, and the terms of conformity made much stricter; and that the object of this conference on the part of the Episcopalians was to widen the breach, that the Presbyterians might all be driven out of their livings: at the same time, the policy of the court was to embroil both parties and drive them to extremities." By Hume we are again told, that in the year 1662, "the church-

* Vol. iii. book xii. chap. x. p. 397.

† Hume's Charles II. chap. 63

party had, during so many years, suffered such injuries and indignities from the sectarians of every denomination, that no moderation, much less deference, was on this occasion to be expected from the ecclesiastics. Even the laity of that community seemed disposed to retaliate upon their enemies, according to the usual measures of party justice. This sect or faction (for it partook of both,) encouraged the rumors of plots and conspiracies against the government, crimes which, without any apparent reason, they imputed to their adversaries. And instead of enlarging the terms of communion, in order to comprehend the Presbyterians, they gladly laid hold of the prejudices which prevailed amongst that sect, in order to eject them from their livings. By the bill of uniformity it was required that every clergyman should be re-ordained, if he had not before received Episcopal ordination; should declare his assent to every thing contained in the book of common-prayer; should take the oath of canonical obedience; should abjure the solemn league and covenant; and should renounce the principles of taking arms on any pretence whatsoever against the king."* From the same authority we learn, that on St. Bartholomew's day, the 24th of August in the same year, this act of uniformity was carried into force, and about two thousand of the Presbyterian clergy gave up their church benefices rather than conform.

Rapin enters into a long dissertation upon the motives which influenced the ruling party to this unyielding severity. 1st, The high-church party were actuated by a spirit of revenge and retaliation. 2d, By a desire of self-preservation; since experience had taught them that the Presbyterians only wanted power to avail themselves of it, to their destruction. 3d, The church had always supported the prerogatives of the crown, which all sectarians, to say the least, were inclined to diminish. 4th, The then critical juncture; the king in urgent want of money; the parliament and high-church were inclined to gratify him, provided he would sacrifice the Presbyterians to their malice. Charles II. being a papist, this required no

great effort on his part, although at that time he was not even suspected of popish inclinations by the church party. 5th, It was the secret object of the papists to excite these two parties to a mutual hatred, in order, more readily, to pave the way for their own advancement.* The motives on the other side, which influenced the Presbyterian party to act altogether unanimously, were these:—"They were told by the emissaries of the papists, their numbers were so great, that, in all likelihood, it would deter parliament from attempting the ruin of so great a body at once, for fear of exciting new troubles. And also, that the king would protect them openly if they would remain united, but a division would put it out of his power to do them any service."†

Bishop Burnet also says, "The leaders took great pains to have them all stick together, infusing into them, that if a great number stood out, that would show their strength, and produce new laws in their favour."

In all probability these accounts are not far from the truth, because the very circumstance of their acting in concert looks like design; and the conduct of this party when in power will hardly warrant the supposition, that out of two thousand men, not one should be found willing to stifle his conscience for the sake of temporal advantages.

The church party showed much less moderation in this affair than the Presbyterians had done before them; for the latter upon being expelled from their livings, were left penniless, whereas, upon their accession to the church benefices they had allowed a fifth part of their incomes to be retained during life, for the maintenance of those incumbents they had displaced.

The advantages the Episcopalians had now gained, they were determined to push to the extreme against their adversaries, and in the year 1665, they obtained another act, called the "Five Mile Act." Hume says, "The church, under pretence of guarding monarchy against its inveterate enemies, persevered in the project of wreaking her own enmity against

* Tindal's *Rapin*, vol. ii., Charles II.

† *Ibid.*

the nonconformists. It was enacted that no dissenting teacher who took not the 'non-resistance' oath above-mentioned, should, except upon the road, come within five miles of any corporation, or of any place where he had preached after the act of oblivion. The penalty was a fine of fifty pounds, and six months' imprisonment. By ejecting the nonconforming clergy from their churches, and prohibiting all separate congregations, they had been rendered incapable of gaining any livelihood by their spiritual profession. And now, under colour of removing them from places where their influence might be dangerous, an expedient was fallen upon to deprive them of all means of subsistence. Had not the spirit of the nation undergone a change, these violences were preludes to the most furious persecution.* The rancour of the church party now knew no bounds, and by taking advantages of the necessities of the king, they granted him supplies only as he conceded to their intolerance; and thus, in the year 1670, they obtained the royal assent to the act against conventicles. "It bears the appearance of mitigating the former persecuting laws; but, if we may judge by the spirit which had broken out almost every session during the parliament, it was not intended as any favour to the nonconformists. Experience had probably taught that laws over rigid and severe could not be executed. By this act, a hearer in a conventicle (that is, a dissenting assembly, where more than five were present, besides the family,) was fined five shillings for the first offence, ten for the second; the preacher twenty pounds for the first offence, forty for the second. The person in whose house the conventicle met, was amerced in a like sum with the preacher. One clause is remarkable; that, if any dispute should arise with regard to the interpretation of any part of the act, the judges should always explain the doubt in the sense least favourable to conventicles, it being the intention of parliament entirely to suppress them. Such was the zeal of the commons, that they violated the plainest and most established maxims of civil policy, which requires

* Hume's Charles II., chap.

that in all criminal prosecutions, favour should always be given to the prisoner." * We further learn from the same historian, that in the year 1672, the king, disgusted with his parliament, exercised his supreme authority in ecclesiastical matters, by superseding the penal laws against nonconformists, by proclamation. A measure which gave great satisfaction to the dissenters as well as to the catholics, and though "laudable in itself," was of a dangerous nature, "when we reflect upon the motive." In February 4th, 1673, compelled by his necessities, Charles again assembled his parliament, which immediately framed a remonstrance against "this exercise of his prerogative," and the king was compelled to recall his proclamation. Thus, in the course of our history, we see that the spirit of religious intolerance infused into the Established Church by the example and absolute sway of Queen Elizabeth, became at last so oppressive to the bulk of the nation in the time of Archbishop Laud, that the Episcopal power was overthrown by the Presbyterians. These, as soon as they had gained possession of this power, together with its attendant emoluments, pursued a similar course; and with a more misguided zeal would have pushed their bigotry even to much greater lengths, had they not been wisely restrained by the parliament. The same persecuting intolerance showed itself in their successors, the independents and baptists; till at last, Episcopacy being once more elevated from her degraded position by the restoration of Charles II., took every advantage of the great influence she suddenly acquired by this change; and we see her gradually arming herself with unconstitutional authority, which she wielded with a most unrelenting and unchristian spirit, to establish herself upon the ruin of all other Christian communities; and the sequel of our history will show how blindly and cruelly she exerted this power to oppress an innocent and unresisting people.

Bishop Burnet, in his *History of the Reformation*, after speaking of the different separated communions, says, "But

* Hume's Charles II., chap. 65.

the most astonishing part of the wonder is, that in such differences there should be so little mutual forbearance or gentleness to be found: and that they should raise such heats, as if the substance of religion were concerned in them. This is of God, and is a stroke from heaven, on both sides, for their other sins: we of the Church communion have trusted too much to the supports we have received from the law: we have done our duties too slightly, and have minded the cure of souls too little; therefore God, to punish and awaken us, has suffered so many of our people to be wrested out of our hands: and those of the separation have been too forward to blood and war, and thereby have drawn much guilt upon themselves, and have been too compliant with the leaders of their several factions, or rather apt to outrun them. It is plain that God is offended with us all, and therefore we are punished with this fatal blindness, not to see at this time the things that belong to our peace."

Should, therefore, the ever-changing course of events raise up at some future period a persecuting party against the Establishment, she must recollect that it would only be a measure of the same oppression she has more than once meted out to others. History clearly unfolds in her pages a superintending Providence over all things, and that in the great revolution of time, a retributive justice awaits the actions of men.

CHAPTER XIII.

1663—1665. His second imprisonment in Lancaster Castle—His trials at the Winter Sessions and Spring Assizes—Retained in prison.

“And ye shall be hated of all men for my name’s sake: but he that endureth to the end shall be saved.”—Matt. x. 22.

“For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places. Wherefore take unto you the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to withstand in the evil day.”—Eph. vi. 12, 13.

In the year 1663, we again find George Fox under the hospitable roof of his friends at Swarthmore, where, however, he was not long suffered to remain in the peaceable enjoyment of their society; for some of his old oppressors in these parts, hearing of his arrival, began to contrive his apprehension. Their first step was to call a private meeting of some magistrates and deputy-lieutenants at Holker Hall, wherein they granted a warrant for his apprehension. G. Fox hearing of this meeting and its decision the same evening, might have gone away and got far out of their reach; but in consequence of a rumoured plot in the North, he considered that if he went away, they might probably “fall upon Friends; he therefore gave himself up to be taken, in order that Friends might escape the better.” Upon the arrival of the officer the next morning, G. Fox told him, “He knew his errand before, and had given himself up to be taken; for if he would have escaped their imprisonment, he could have gone forty miles off before he came; but as he was an innocent man, it mattered not what they could do to him.” He found assembled at the Hall, several of his adversaries, who examined him respecting this reported plot in the North, of which G. Fox having heard some rumours in the course of his travels to Swarthmore, had written a paper of admonition, to caution

all thoughtless people against meddling in such dangerous matters, and also to clear the Quakers from any charges that might be maliciously brought against them, by declaring that their principles were opposed to all such unlawful doings. A copy of this paper he had sent to the king in council, and had distributed others in the course of his journey. The distribution of this paper was unjustly made a handle for his persecution, for which he was afterwards deprived of his liberty, and punished by a long imprisonment, paralleled in cruelty only by the annals of the Inquisition.

One of the examining magistrates assembled on this occasion, George Middleton, was a papist; and he in particular accused George Fox with denying God, the church, and the faith.

G. Fox. "Nay, I own God, and the true church, and the true faith. But what church dost thou own?"

George Fox was aware of his religion, and Middleton feeling irritated by this retort, turned round angrily, and said, "You are a rebel and a traitor."

G. Fox. "To whom dost thou speak? or whom dost thou call rebel?"

Middleton was now so enraged, that it was some time before he could find utterance, but at last said, "he spoke it to him."

G. Fox, striking his hand upon the table. "I have suffered more in the royal cause than twenty like thee, or any that are here; for I have been cast into Derby prison for six months together, and have suffered much because I would not take up arms against the late king, before Worcester fight. I have been sent up prisoner out of my own county, by Colonel Hacker to Oliver Cromwell, as a plotter to bring in King Charles, in the year 1654, and I have nothing but love and good will to the king, and desire the eternal good and welfare of him and all his subjects."

Justice Middleton. "Did you ever hear the like?"

G. Fox. "Nay, ye may hear it again, if ye will. For ye talk of the king, a company of you; but where were ye in Oliver's days? and what did ye do for him? I have more

love to the king, for his eternal good and welfare, than any of you have."

Justice Middleton. "Bring the book and put the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to him."

This was the usual snare to entrap the Quakers when other charges against them failed. George Fox shrewdly asked him, "Whether he had taken the oath of supremacy, who was a Catholic and a swearer? as for us, we cannot swear at all, because Christ and his apostles hath forbidden it." This pointed query, for the present, warded off the blow, the oaths were dispensed with, and he was dismissed upon his bare promise to appear at the next Lancaster sessions.

As soon as the winter sessions came on, he went over to Lancaster, and after being called into court, and "proclamation being made for all to keep silence upon pain of imprisonment," and all being quiet, he twice said, "Peace be among you."

Chairman. "Do you know where you are?"

G. Fox. "Yes, I do; but it may be my hat offends you. That is a low thing, that is not the honour that I give to magistrates, for the true honour is from above; which I have received, and I hope it is not the hat which ye look upon to be the honour."

Chairman. "We look for the hat too. Wherein do you show your respect to magistrates, if you do not put off your hat?"

G. Fox. "In coming when they call me."

An officer of the court was then ordered to take off his hat; and he was questioned again about the plot already alluded to; but finding they had no grounds on which to substantiate this charge against him, they tendered to him the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; and one of the justices asked him, "Whether he held it was unlawful to swear?" an unwarrantable question, because the act imposed either banishment or a heavy fine upon any one who declared it to be unlawful.

G. Fox. "In the time of the law amongst the Jews, before Christ came, the law commanded them to swear; but

Christ, who doth fulfil the law in his gospel-time, commands, 'Swear not at all;' and the apostle James forbids swearing, even to them that were Jews, and who had the law of God."

He then produced the paper which he had written, and distributed it as a testimony against plots, and requested that it might be read out in open court, as it would show, of itself, whether it contained any thing of a treasonable nature. This proposition was rejected, and he was not permitted to make any other defence, but was committed to prison for refusing to swear. And addressing the court, he said, "All people take notice that I suffer for the doctrine of Christ, and for obedience to his command."

Lancaster jail was at this time crowded with Quakers, many of whom were poor husbandmen, whose families depended upon their labour and industry for a maintenance. Several energetic remonstrances had been addressed by them to the committing magistrates, showing with what injustice and want of compassion they had been treated by their rich neighbours, who knew them to be honest and peaceable people, and that it was from conscientious motives alone that they refused to pay tithes, or to take an oath of any description.

Some of these sufferers were men, who, prior to their conviction by George Fox, had served under Charles I., during the civil wars, had hazarded their lives in his cause, and had always remained true to him to the last, although they had never received any sort of remuneration for their faithful services: and to be thus abandoned to the mercy of a set of men, many of whom had been fierce republicans; but now professed a sudden and marvellous zeal for the present king, was felt by them to be a hard and ungrateful return. In some few instances, these remonstrances effected the liberation of the complaining parties; but the greatest number were suffered to lie in prison, where several of them ended their days, in consequence of the length and severity of their confinement. The case of Oliver Atherton was one of particular hardship: he, with three others, had endured a long and severe imprisonment of upwards of two years, at

the suit of the Countess of Derby, on account of the non-payment of tithes. This man, in the last stage of illness, sent his son to the countess, to petition for his enlargement, as the only chance of saving his life, assuring her that he did not refuse her tithes from any wilful obstinacy or covetousness, but, as she well knew, from purely conscientious motives. The countess was implacable, and the poor man died in jail very soon after her refusal, saying, with his last breath, "that she had been the cause of shedding much blood, but this would be the heaviest blood she ever spilt." Upon his death, his body was given up to his family, who bore it for interment to the parish of Ormskirk, wherein he had lived, and passing in their way through the town of Garstang, they rested with the body at the market-cross, and stuck up this notice upon the cross, "This is the body of Oliver Atherton, of Ormskirk parish, persecuted to death by the Countess of Derby for good conscience' sake towards God and Christ, because he could not give her tithes," &c.; setting forth at large the reasons of his refusing to pay tithes, the length of his imprisonment, the hardships he had undergone, her hard-heartedness towards him, and the manner of his death.

The reproof in this paper was so acutely felt by the countess, that she threatened to punish the people of Garstang for allowing it to be exposed upon their cross; causing, by this unwise interference, the facts to be more inquired into, and the circumstances to be more noticed to her own dishonour. In the short space of three weeks from this day, she was herself numbered with the dead, and on that day seven weeks, her corpse was borne through the same place, to be deposited in its last abode. "Thus," G. Fox observes, "the Lord pursued the hard-hearted persecutor."

1664. The assizes for this year commenced on the 14th of March, and G. Fox, who had lain in prison ever since the last quarter-sessions, held upon the 12th of January, was now brought up before Judge Twisden: his own account is as follows: "When I was set at the bar, I said, 'Peace be amongst you all.'"

Judge, looking at him. "What! do you come into court with your hat on." Upon which the jailer then took it off.

G. Fox. "The hat is not the honour that comes from God."

Judge. "Will you take the oath of allegiance, George Fox?"

G. Fox. "I never took any oath in my life, nor any covenant or engagement."

Judge. "Well, will you swear or no?"

G. Fox. "I am a Christian, and Christ commands me 'not to swear;' so does the apostle James; and whether I should obey God or man, do thou judge."

Judge. "I ask you again, whether you will swear or no?"

G. Fox. "I am neither Turk, Jew, nor Heathen, but a Christian, and should show forth Christianity. Dost thou not know that Christians, in the primitive times, under the persecutions, and some also of the martyrs in Queen Mary's days, refused swearing, because Christ and his apostles had forbidden it? Ye have had experience enough, how many have first sworn for the king, and then against him. But as for me, I have never taken an oath in my life. My allegiance does not lie in swearing, but in truth and faithfulness for I honour all men, much more the king. But Christ, who is the Great Prophet, the King of Kings, the Saviour and Judge of the whole world, saith, 'I must not swear.' Now, whether must I obey Christ or thee? For it is tenderness of conscience, and in obedience to the command of Christ, that I do not swear: and we have the word of the king for tender consciences.* Dost thou own the king?"

Judge. "I do own the king."

G. Fox. "Why then dost thou not observe his declaration from Breda, and his promises made since he came to England: 'That no man should be called in question for matters of religion, so long as he lived peaceably?' If thou ownest the king, why dost thou call me in question, and put

* Charles II. had pledged his word to the Quakers, that they should not be molested for their peculiar scruples, provided their conduct was peaceable.

me upon taking an oath, which is a matter of religion, seeing thou or none else can charge me with unpeaceable living?"

Judge, irritated and looking at him. "Sirrah! will you swear?"

G. Fox. "I am none of thy sirrahs, I am a Christian; and for thee, an old man and a judge, to sit there and give nick-names to prisoners, it does not become either thy gray hairs or thy office."

Judge. "Well, I am a Christian too."

G. Fox. "Then do Christian works."

Judge. "Sirrah! Thou thinkest to frighten me with thy words." Then checking himself, and looking aside, he said, "Hark! I am using the word sirrah again," and so checked himself.

G. Fox. "I spoke to thee in love; for that language did not become thee, a judge. Thou oughtest to instruct a prisoner in the law, if he were ignorant and out of the way."

Judge. "And I speak in love to thee, too."

G. Fox. "But love gives no nick-names."

Judge. "Well, George Fox, say whether thou wilt take the oath, yea or nay?"

G. Fox. "I say as I said before, 'Whether ought I to obey God or man, judge thou?' If I could take any oath at all, I could take this; for I do not deny some oaths only, or on some occasions, but all oaths, according to Christ's doctrine, who hath commanded his followers, 'Not to swear at all.' Now, if thou or any of you, or any of your ministers or priests here will prove that ever Christ or his apostles, after they had forbidden all swearing, commanded Christians to swear, then I will swear."

Several priests were there, but none of them offered to speak.

Judge. "I am a servant of the king, and the king sent me not to dispute with you, but to put the law in execution; therefore, tender him the oath of allegiance."

G. Fox. "If thou love the king, why dost thou break his word, and not keep his declarations and speeches, wherein he promised liberty to tender consciences? I am a man of

a tender conscience, and, in obedience to Christ's command, I cannot swear."

Judge. "Then you will not swear: take him away, jailer."

G. Fox. "It is for Christ's sake that I cannot swear, and for obedience to his command I suffer; and so the Lord forgive you all."

He was now reconducted to prison, and on the 16th of March, two days afterwards, was again called into court.

"The judge asked him, 'whether he would traverse, stand mute, or submit.' He desired he might have liberty to traverse the indictment and try it."

Judge. "Take him away; I will have nothing to do with him: take him away."

G. Fox. "Well, live in the fear of God, and do justice."

Judge. "Why, have I not done you justice?"

G. Fox. "That which thou hast done hath been against the command of Christ." Upon this he was again consigned to prison to await the next assizes.

So remorseless were the persecutions against the Quakers, at this period, that even the kindly feelings of neighbourhood and old acquaintances were not sufficient to suppress the bitter animosity of party spirit. His kind and hospitable hostess of Swarthmore, was also a prisoner in the same jail, and for the same offence of refusing to take an oath. She had been apprehended by a warrant from some justices of her own rank in the neighbourhood, and likewise pleaded to the errors of her indictment, and was also recommitted to prison, where she laid till the next assizes.

The rough and uncourteous salutation of "Sirrah," bestowed by Judge Twisden during the last trial, was regarded by George Fox as so unfeeling and unbecoming a carriage in a judge, professing himself a Christian, to adopt towards a prisoner, that he put forth a paper upon this subject, addressed "To all judges wheresoever:" being actuated by no personal feeling for the incivility offered to himself, but by a proper sense of the illiberality of such conduct in general. It begins:—

“TO ALL JUDGES OR OTHER OFFICERS WHATSOEVER IN THE WHOLE WORLD, WHO PROFESS YOURSELVES TO BE CHRISTIANS.

“FRIENDS,

“Herein and by reading the Scriptures, ye may see both your own words and behaviour, and the words and practices of both Jews and heathens, and of the King of kings, the ‘Great Lawgiver and Judge of the whole world.’ First, concerning the words and carriage of the Jews, when some worthy of death were brought before the rulers amongst them. When Achan had taken the Babylonish garment, the two hundred shekels of silver, and the wedge of gold of fifty shekels’ weight, and Joshua, who was then judge of Israel, had by lot discovered him, he did not call him sirrah, nor you rascal, knave, rogue, as some, called Christian magistrates, are apt to do. But Joshua said unto Achan, ‘My son.’ Mark his clean language, savoury expression, and gracious words, ‘My son,’ said he, ‘give, I pray thee, glory to the Lord God of Israel, and make confession unto Him, and tell me now what thou hast done: hide it not from me?’ Then Achan confessed that he had sinned against the Lord God of Israel, and thus and thus he had done. Then Joshua, the judge said, ‘Why hast thou troubled Israel? the Lord shall trouble thee this day; and they stoned him and his with stones, and burned his goods with fire.’ But there was no unsavoury word given him that we read of, though he was worthy of death.—Josh. vii.

“So when the man that gathered sticks upon the Sabbath day was taken and brought before Moses, the judge of Israel, and put in ward till the mind of the Lord was known concerning him, we read not of any reviling language given him; but the Lord said to Moses, and Moses to the people, ‘The man shall surely be put to death.’—Numb. xv. ‘Likewise, in the rebellion of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, when Moses called them to trial, he did not sirrah them nor misname them; but said to Korah and the rest, ‘Hear, I pray you, ye sons of Levi.’—Numb. xvi. 8. And when he gave the sen-

tence against them, he said, 'If these men die the common death of all men,' &c. He did not say, if these rascals or knaves, as many that profess themselves Christians now do.

"If ye look into the New Testament in the parable of the wedding supper, the king that came to view his guests, did not say to him that was found without a wedding garment, 'Sirrah, how camest thou hither?' but, 'Friend, how camest thou in hither?' though he was to be bound hand and foot, and cast into utter darkness.—Matt. xxii. Nay, when Judas had betrayed his master, Jesus Christ, the Lord of life, and sold Him to the priests, Christ did not call him, Sirrah, when he came to apprehend him, but, 'Friend.'"—Matt. xxvi. In this strain it continues to exhibit many more examples taken from the Old and New Testaments, all equally opposite.

The next Lancaster assizes were held in the month of June, in the same year, and the same judges, Twisden and Turner, came the circuit; but, this time, Judge Turner sat on the crown-bench, where George Fox was brought before him. He says, "Before I was called to the bar, I was put among murderers and felons for about the space of two hours, the people, the justices, and judge, also, gazing upon me. After they had tried several others, they called me to the bar, and impanelled a jury, then the judge asked the justices 'Whether they had tendered me the oath at the sessions?' They said, 'They had.' Then he bid, 'Give them the book,' that they might be sworn they had tendered me the oath at the sessions. They said, 'They had.' The judge bid them again 'take the book and swear they had tendered the oath according to the indictment.' Some of the justices refused to be sworn; but the judge said he would have it done to take away all occasion of exception. When the jury were sworn, and the justices had sworn, 'That they tendered me the oath according to the indictment,' the judge asked me, 'Whether I had not refused the oath at the last assizes?'"

G. Fox. "I never took an oath in my life, and Christ, the Saviour and Judge of the world, saith, 'Swear not at all.'" "

Judge, (not heeding this answer.) "I ask whether or no, you did not refuse the oath at the last assizes?"

G. Fox. "The words that I then spake to them were, 'That if they would prove, either judge, justice, priest, or teacher, that after Christ and the apostles had forbidden swearing, they commanded that Christians should swear, I would swear.'"

Judge. "I am not at this time to dispute whether it is lawful to swear, but to inquire whether you have refused to take the oath or no?"

G. Fox. "Those things mentioned in the oath, as plotting against the king, and owning the Pope's, or any other foreign power, I utterly deny."

Judge. "Well, you say well in that, but did you deny to take the oath? What say you?"

G. Fox. "What wouldst thou have me to say? for I have told thee before what I did say."

Judge. "Would you have these men to swear that you have taken the oath?"

G. Fox. "Wouldst thou have these men to swear that I had refused the oath?" At which the court burst out into laughter. "I was grieved," he says, "to see so much lightness in the court, where such solemn matters were handled, and therefore asked him, 'If this court was a play-house?' Where is gravity and sobriety? for this behaviour does not become you."

"The clerk then read the indictment, and I told the judge 'I had something to speak to it, for I had informed myself of the errors that were in it.' He told me 'he would hear afterwards any reasons that I could allege why he should not give judgment.' Then I spoke to the jury, and told them they could not bring me in guilty according to that indictment, for the indictment was wrong laid, and had many gross errors in it.'"

Judge. "You must not speak to the jury, but I will speak to them, you have denied to take the oath at the last assizes, and I can tender the oath to any man now, and pre-

munire him for not taking it, and the jury must bring you in guilty, seeing you refuse to take the oath."

G. Fox. "What do ye with a form? you may throw away your form then." To the jury.—"It lies upon your consciences, as ye would answer it to the Lord God before his judgment-seat."

"Then the judge spoke again to the jury, and I called to him, 'to do me justice.' The jury brought me in guilty. Whereupon I told them, 'that both the justices and they had forsworn themselves, and therefore they had small cause to laugh as they did a little before.' Oh, the envy, rage, and malice that appeared against me, and the lightness; but the Lord confounded them, and they were wonderfully stopped. So they set me aside, and called up Margaret Fell."

"Upon my complaining of the badness of my prison, some of the justices, with Colonel Kirby, went up to see it, but when they came, they durst hardly go in, the floor was so bad and dangerous, and the place so open to the wind and rain. Some of the magistrates declared that it was a most shameful place, and when Colonel Kirby saw and heard what was said of it, he excused the matter as well as he could, saying, 'I should be removed ere it was long, to some more convenient place.'"

This promise of Colonel Kirby was never realized, nor ever meant to be; for he had been the most inveterate of all his persecutors in this part of the country, and it was through his influence alone that he was placed in such a shameful dungeon; although, upon this occasion, he wished to impress the other magistrates with the idea that he had no hand in it.

The following day, he was again brought up in company with his old friend, and present fellow-sufferer, Margaret Fell, who employing counsel to plead the errors of her indictment, the judge allowed them. George Fox was then called upon, but declined the assistance of any pleader. His narrative of the proceedings continues thus:

Judge. "What have you to say why I should not pass sentence upon you?"

G. Fox. "I am no lawyer; but I have much to say it

thou wilt have patience to hear." At that he laughed, and others also, laughed; and he said, "Come, what have you to say?" and turning to the court, "He can say nothing."

G. Fox. "Yes, I have much to say; have but patience to hear me. Should the oath be tendered to the king's subjects, or to the subjects of another realm?"

Judge. "To the subjects of this realm."

G. Fox. "Look into the indictment, ye may see ye have left out the word subject; so not having named me in the indictment as a subject, ye cannot premunire me for not taking the oath."

Then they looked over the statute and the indictment, and saw it was so: and the judge confessed it was an error.

G. Fox. "I have something else to stop judgment, look what day the indictment says the oath was tendered to me at the sessions there."

They looked, and said, "It was the 11th day of January."

G. Fox. "What day of the week was the sessions held on?" "On a Tuesday," was the reply of some one in court.

G. Fox. "Look to your almanacs and see whether there were held any sessions at Lancaster on the 11th day of January, so called?—So they looked, and found that the 11th day was Monday, and that the sessions were held on the Tuesday, the 12th day of the month. Look now, ye have indicted me for refusing the oath in the quarter-sessions held at Lancaster on the 11th day of January last, and the justices have sworn that they tendered me the oath in open sessions here, on that day, and the jury upon their oaths, have found me guilty thereupon; and yet ye see there was no session held in Lancaster that day."

Judge, (to cover the matter) asked, "Whether the sessions did not begin on the 11th day?" Some one in court answered, "No; the sessions held but one day, and that was the 12th."

Judge. "This is a great mistake and error."

"Some of the justices were in a great rage at this, and stamped and said, 'Who hath done this?' 'Somebody hath done this on purpose;' and a great heat was amongst them."

G. Fox. "Are not the justices here that have sworn to this indictment forsworn men in the face of the country? But this is not all, I have more yet to offer, why sentence should not be given against me. In what year of the king was the last assize holden, which happened in the month of March last?"

Judge. "It was in the sixteenth year of the king."

G. Fox. "The indictment lays it in the fifteenth year."

They looked and found it so, which was also acknowledged to be another error. Then, he says, they were all in a fret again, and could not tell what to say; for the judge had sworn the officers of the court, that the oath was tendered to me at the assizes mentioned in the indictment.

G. Fox. "Now, is not the court here forsworn also, who have sworn that the oath was tendered to me at the assize holden here in the fifteenth year of the king, when it was in his sixteenth year, and so they have sworn a year false?"

"The judge then bid them look whether Margaret Fell's indictment was the same, but found it not so."

G. Fox. "I have more yet to offer to stop sentence; ought all the oath to be put into the indictment or not?"

Judge. "Yes, it ought to be all put in."

G. Fox. "Then compare the indictment with the oath, and there thou mayst see these words; (or by any authority derived, or pretended to be derived from him, or his fee) left out of the indictment, which is the principal part of the oath; and in another place the words (heirs and successors) are left out.

The judge acknowledged these also to be great errors.

G. Fox. "But I have something further to allege."

Judge. "Nay, I have enough, you need say no more."

G. Fox. "If thou hast enough, I desire nothing but law and justice at thy hands; for I don't look for mercy."

Judge. "You must have justice, and you shall have law."

G. Fox. "Am I at liberty, and free from all that ever hath been done against me in this matter?"

Judge. "Yes, you are free from all that hath been done against you." But starting up in a rage, he exclaimed, "I

can put the oath to any man here, and I will tender you the oath again."

G. Fox. "Thou hadst example enough yesterday of swearing, and false swearing, both in the justices and jury; for I saw before mine eyes that both justices and jury had forsworn themselves."

Judge. "Will you take the oath?"

G. Fox. "Do me justice for my false imprisonment all this while; for what have I been imprisoned so long? I ought to be set at liberty."

Judge. "You are at liberty, but I will put the oath to you again."

G. Fox then turned about, and said, "All people, take notice, this is a snare; for I ought to be set free from the jailer and from this court."

Judge. "Give him the book."

"Then," he continues, "the power of darkness rose in them like a mountain, and the clerk lifted up a book to me. I stood still, and said, 'If it be a bible, give it me into my hand.' 'Yes, yes,' said both judge and justices, 'give it him into his hand.' So I took it and looked into it, and said, 'I see it is a bible: I am glad of it.'"

"The judge caused the jury to be called, and they stood by; for after they had brought in their former verdict, he would not discharge them, though they desired it; but told them, 'he could not dismiss them yet, he should have business for them, therefore they must attend and be ready when they were called.' When he said so, I felt his intent, that if I was freed, he would come on again. So I looked him in the face, and the witness of God started up in him, and made him blush, when he looked at me again; for he saw that I had discovered him. Nevertheless, hardening himself, he caused the oath to be read to me, the jury standing by. When it was read, he asked me, 'Whether I would take the oath or not?'"

G. Fox. "Ye have given me a book here to kiss, and to swear on, and this book which ye have given me to kiss,

says, 'Kiss the Son,' and the Son says in this book, 'Swear not at all,' and so says the apostle James. I say as the book says, yet ye imprison me. How chance ye do not imprison the book for saying so? How comes it that the book is at liberty amongst you, which bids me not swear, and yet ye imprison me for doing as the book bids me.'"

"I was speaking this to them, and held up the bible open in my hand to show them the place where Christ forbade swearing. They plucked the book out of my hand, and the judge said, 'Nay, but we will imprison George Fox.'"

"Yet this got about all over the country, as a by-word, 'That they gave me a book to swear on, that commanded me not to swear at all,' and the Bible was at liberty, and I in prison for doing what the Bible said.'"

The judge still urged him to swear, and G. Fox said, "I never took oath, covenant, or engagement in my life; but my yea and nay was more binding in me than an oath was to many others; for had they not had experience how little men regarded an oath? and how they had sworn one way, and then another? and how the justices and court had forsworn themselves now? I was a man of a tender conscience, and if they had any sense of a tender conscience, they would consider that it was in obedience to Christ's command that I could not swear. But if any one of you can convince me, that after Christ and the apostles had commanded not to swear, they altered that command, and commanded Christians to swear, ye shall see I will swear. There being many priests in the court, I said, 'If ye cannot do it, let your priests stand up and do it.' But not one of the priests made answer."

Judge. "Oh! all the world cannot convince you."

G. Fox. "No, how is it likely the world should convince me? The whole world lies in wickedness. Bring out your spiritual men, as ye call them, to convince me."

Both the sheriff and the judge said, "The angels swore in the Revelation."

G. Fox. "When God bringeth his first-begotten Son into

the world, he saith, 'Let all the angels of God worship him;' and the Son saith, 'Swear not at all.' "

Judge. "Nay, I will not dispute."

G. Fox, to the jury. "It is for Christ's sake that I cannot swear, and therefore I warn you not to act contrary to the light of God in your consciences; for before his judgment-seat you must all be brought. As for plots, and persecutions for religion, and popery, I deny them in my heart; for I am a Christian, and shall show forth Christianity among you this day. It is for Christ I stand." More words I had, both with the judge and jury, before the jailer took me away."

In the afternoon he was brought up again, and placed among the thieves for a considerable time, where he stood with his hat on till the jailer took it off. The jury having found this new indictment against him, "for not taking the oath," he was then called to the bar.

Judge. "What can you say for yourself?"

G. Fox. "I request the indictment to be read; for I cannot answer to that which I have not heard."

The clerk then read it, and as he read it, the judge said, "Take heed it be not false again;" but he read it in such a manner that George Fox could hardly understand what he read.

When he had done, the judge said, "What do you say to the indictment?"

G. Fox. "At once hearing so large a writing read, and that at such a distance, that I could not distinctly hear all the parts of it, I cannot tell what to say; but if thou will let me have a copy of it, and give me time to consider of it, I will answer it."

This put them to a little stand; but after a while the judge asked, "What time I would have?"

G. Fox. "Till the next assize."

Judge. "But what plea will you now make? Are you guilty or not guilty?"

G. Fox. "I am not guilty at all of denying to swear obstinately and wilfully; and as for those things mentioned in

the oath, as Jesuitical plots, and foreign powers, I utterly deny them in my heart. If I could take any oath, I could take this; but I never took any oath in my life."

Judge. "You say well; but the king is sworn, the parliament is sworn, I am sworn, and the justices are sworn, and the law is preserved by oaths."

G. Fox. "Ye have had sufficient experience of men's swearing, and thou hast seen how the justices and jury had sworn wrong the other day; and if thou hadst read in the *Book of Martyrs*, how many of them had refused to swear, both in the time of the ten persecutions, and in Bishop Bonner's days, thou mightest see that to deny swearing in obedience to Christ's command, was no new thing."

Judge. "I wish the laws were otherwise."

G. Fox. "Our yea is yea, and our nay is nay, and if we transgress our yea or nay, let us suffer as they do, or should do, that swear falsely. This we had offered to the king, and the king said, 'It was reasonable.'"

Instead of obtaining his liberty by this clear exposure of the palpably gross errors of his indictment, he was reconducted to prison, there to be immured till the ensuing assizes; and in order to make his case still harder, his sufferings were increased tenfold by a second interference of Colonel Kirby, who gave particular orders to the jailer, "to keep him close, and suffer no flesh alive to come at him, for he was not fit to be discoursed with by men." In consequence of this order, he was removed into an upper chamber, in an old and ruinous tower of the castle, so much more dilapidated than his former abode, that he was constantly exposed to the inclemencies of the weather, and often had the greatest difficulty to preserve his bed and clothing (which were always damp and cold,) from being wet through. He was also so much distressed by smoke, which penetrated into his room from other fires in the prison, that at times he was nearly suffocated by it, and often could scarcely discern the light of a candle from its density. In this inhuman place, he was doomed to pass the whole winter (which was unusually long and severe,) for no crime, and was at last so much affected by a continued ex

posure to the cold and wet, and the constant inhaling of such an impure atmosphere, that he was reduced to a state of great suffering: his body became swollen, and his limbs so benumbed, that he could with difficulty use them.

The whole particulars of this trial forcibly depict the persecuting temper of that period, and the unchristian spirit which prevailed among the church-party after the Restoration. They prove that no feelings were too sacred to be sacrificed at the shrine of their favourite idol—"Religious Conformity." The very spirit of the law was perverted in order to accomplish the destruction of those who refused such conformity, without the least regard to the motives which influenced their refusal.

Not only the justices at the sessions, but also the judges upon the bench, instead of protecting the prisoner, as was their bounden duty, tried every expedient of question and cross question, to extort from him a confession that would have amounted, if made, to his own condemnation. And, after they had acknowledged the errors of his indictment, they still further perverted the law by refusing him his rightful liberty, and by tendering him the same oath before he had been legally discharged from the custody of the jailer and the court; and by a fresh indictment, they again condemned him to a whole winter's imprisonment, aggravated by extreme hardships and wants.

It is clear, that if his adversaries had ever succeeded in forcing him to take the oath, they would have gained no object, save the gratification of their own malice, because the tenor of his whole life, as they well knew, placed him beyond the shadow of suspicion of contriving or abetting any of those things against which the oath had been framed. So closely is religious liberty connected with our civil rights, that the unshaken firmness with which George Fox resisted this stretch of tyranny, entitles him to the veneration of every Englishman. For we are beholden to the exertions and constancy of such men, for the establishment of our rights upon the firm basis whereon they now stand.

CHAPTER XIV.

1665, 1666. His third trial at Lancaster, before Judge Twisden—Premunired and sent prisoner to Scarbro' Castle—Visited there by Lady Fairfax, Dr. Crowther, and others—Enlarged by an order from Charles II.

For it is better, if the will of God be so, that ye suffer for well-doing than for evil-doing."—1 Peter iii. 7.

"Settle it therefore in your hearts, not to meditate before what ye shall answer: for I will give you a mouth and wisdom, which all your adversaries shall not be able to gainsay nor resist."—Luke xxi. 14, 15.

"The Lord also will be a refuge for the oppressed, a refuge in times of trouble. And they that know thy name will put their trust in thee: for thou, Lord, hast not forsaken them that seek thee."—Psalm ix. 9, 10.

1665. The next Lancaster assizes were held on the 16th of March, in this year, and Judge Twisden taking his seat this time on the crown-bench, George Fox was brought before him. He thus commences his own account. "I had informed myself of the errors of this second indictment also. For though at the previous assize, Judge Turner had cautioned the officers of the court to great diligence, saying, 'Pray, see that all the oath be in the indictment, and that the word subject be in, and that the day of the month and year of the king, be put in right; for it is a shame that so many errors should be seen and found in the face of the country.' Yet many errors, and those great ones, were in this indictment as well as in the former. Surely the hand of the Lord was in it, to confound their mischievous work against me, and to blind them therein, insomuch, that although after the indictment was drawn at the former assize, the judge examined it himself, and tried it with the clerks, yet the word 'subject' was left out of this indictment also, the day of the month was put in wrong, and several material

words of the oath were left out; yet they went on confidently against me, thinking all was safe and well. When I was set at the bar, and the jury called over to be sworn, the clerk asked me first, 'Whether I had any objection to make against any of the jury?' I told him, 'I knew none of them.' Then having sworn the jury, they swore three of the officers of the court to prove, 'that the oath was tendered to me the last assizes, according to the indictment.' "

Judge. "Come, come; it was not done in a corner. What have you to say to it? Did you take the oath at the last assizes?"

George Fox then recapitulated what he had formerly said, and pleaded, as exactly as his memory would allow.

Judge. "I will not dispute with you but in point of law."

G. Fox. "I have something to speak to the jury concerning the indictment."

Judge. "You must not speak to the jury; but if you have any thing to say, you must speak to me."

G. Fox. "Should the oath be tendered to the king's subjects only, or to the subjects of foreign princes?"

Judge. "To the subjects of this realm; for I will speak nothing to you but in point of law."

G. Fox. "Look in the indictment and thou mayst see the word 'subject' is left out of this indictment also. Therefore, seeing the oath is not tendered to any but the subjects of this realm, and ye have not put me in as a subject, the court is to take no notice of this indictment."

Judge. "Take him away, jailer, take him away."

"So I was presently hurried away. The jailer and people looked when I should be called for again; but I was never brought into the court any more, though I had many other great errors to assign in the indictment. After I was gone, the judge asked the jury, 'If they were agreed?' They said, 'Yes;' and found for the king against me, as I was told. But I was never called to hear sentence given, nor was any given against me, that I could ever hear of. I understood when they looked narrowly into the indictment, they saw it was not good; and the judge having sworn the officers of the

court, that the oath was tendered to me the assize before, upon such a day, according as was set down in the indictment, and that being the wrong day, I should have proved the officers of the court forsworn men again, if the judge would have suffered me to plead to the indictment, which was thought to be the reason why they hurried me away so soon. The judge had passed sentence of premunire upon Margaret Fell, before I was brought into court; and it seems, when I was hurried away, they recorded me as a premunired person, though I was never brought up to hear sentence, nor knew of it, which was very illegal. For they ought not only to have had me present to hear sentence given, but also to have asked me first, 'What I could say, why sentence should not be given against me?' But they knew I had so much to say, that they could not give sentence, if they heard me."

Thus, after being apprehended upon a false accusation of plotting, which was relinquished as soon as made, and after having lain in an unwholesome dungeon for the space of fifteen months, because he could not conscientiously take an oath that was unjustly and unfeelingly tendered, he was condemned to all the dreadful penalties of premunire, although that sentence had never been legally passed upon him, if it had been passed at all. In this instance, we behold our judges, in their judicial capacities, lending themselves to party feeling, and stooping most shamefully to pervert the course of the law in order to carry out their own unjust measures; and we see the two learned professions of the church and the bar, uniting in a tyrannical attack upon a few individuals, the peaceableness of whose lives, and the meekness of whose religious tenets disallowed of any retaliation for their unjust sufferings, heaped upon them in consequence of their religious scruples. To witness such a perversion of the ends of justice, is as revolting to our present notions, as it is gratifying to our feelings to reflect, that such bitter animosities, if they exist at all in our days, can no longer be indulged in by any party, however powerful, at the expense of our liberties and civil rights.

During the period of his incarceration in Lancaster Castle,

he had two remarkable visions. Some parts of Europe, at this time, were under the greatest alarm from a sudden irruption of the Turks, which threatened to overrun all Christendom; the dread of which invasion had even spread to the shores of Britain, and occupied a considerable place in the public mind. George Fox relates, "that walking one day in his prison chamber, with his mind retired to the Lord, he saw the Lord's power turn against the Turks, and that they were turning back again." This vision he mentioned to several persons, and within a month of its occurrence, news arrived from London, that the Turks had been defeated, and were driven back to their own country. At another time, while he was under a similar exercise of mind, "he saw the angel of the Lord with a glittering drawn sword stretched southward, as though the court had been all on fire." Not long after, the war broke out with Holland, and London was visited with the two dreadful calamities of the plague, and the great fire which followed it. "So the Lord's sword," he observes, "was drawn indeed."

Notwithstanding his close imprisonment, and the train of maladies which it entailed upon him, "the Lord's power," he says, "was over all, supported me through all, and enabled me to do service for Him, and for his truth and people, as the place would admit.

About six weeks after the last assizes, the church-party who had been so much galled by the adroitness of his former self-defence, and who, in this last trial, had denied him the same legal right of self-justification, and had cut him off from all means of obtaining justice; managed, by shameful misrepresentations, to procure an order from the king, for his removal into some distant place of confinement. This order was signed by the Earl of Anglesea, and its wording proves the truth of our remark; for he therein says, "If those things were found true against him, of which he was charged, that he deserved no clemency nor mercy." Yet the only thing with which they could charge him, was his refusal to take an oath, from a religious scruple.

As soon as the necessary preparations for his removal were

completed, he was brought from his smoky and damp prison to the jailer's house, and as far as his enfeebled bodily appearance indicated, "the iron" shaft of oppression "had entered into his soul;" for, emaciated by unmerited hardships, by confinement in an unwholesome atmosphere, and by long exposure to the inclemencies of the season, he had so far lost the use of his limbs, that he could scarcely walk or stand. His spirit retained its undaunted courage, and proved to his oppressors how far superior his mind rose above all their machinations, how wonderfully it was supported under all his severe trials, and how, in the multitude of his tribulations, he experienced abundance of joy. Upon entering the house, he found there William Kirby, a magistrate, and several armed bailiffs, ready equipped for a journey, who offered him wine, which he refused, telling them, "he would have none of it." They then ordered out their horses, and he demanded that, if they were going to remove him, he might see their order, or a copy of it, stating: "There was no sentence passed upon him, nor was he premunired, as he knew of; and therefore he was not made the king's prisoner, but the sheriff's; for they and all the country knew that he was not fully heard at the last assize, nor suffered to show the errors in the indictment, which were sufficient to quash it, though they had kept him from one assize to another, to the end that they might try him. But they all knew that there was no sentence of premunire passed upon him, therefore he, not being the king's prisoner, but the sheriff's, did desire to see the order." Instead of showing them their order, they only showed him their swords, and roughly drew him out of the house, and placed him on horseback, feeble as he was. Upon leaving the jailer's house, a crowd of idle people collected to gaze upon him, and he told the officers publicly, "that he had received neither Christianity, civility, nor humanity from them." He was then hurried away to Bentham, in Yorkshire, a distance of fourteen miles; and the pain and fatigue he endured during this journey, were greatly aggravated by the unfeeling conduct of Hunter, the under-jailer, a young man so depraved and hardened, that he made sport

of his infirmities, and amused himself by lashing the horse upon which his prisoner rode, and when he frisked and capered about, so that his rider could with the greatest difficulty keep his seat, owing to his extreme debility, he rode up to him, and looking him in the face, jeered him with "How do ye do, Mr. Fox." George Fox mildly rebuked him by saying, "It was not civil in him to do so, seeing how ill he was." He tells us, "the Lord soon cut him off;" for he died suddenly, not long afterwards.

With the same absence of feeling, and the same disregard to his sufferings, he was conducted to York, a gazing-stock to the rude rabble at all places through which he passed. At York, he was delivered into the custody of some troopers, and lodged in a large room under their guard. In the evening, he was visited by Lord Freshville, the commander of the troop, who inquired into all the particulars of his case, listened to his own account with civility, and treated him with kindness; and, with a noble and soldier-like bearing, that did honour to his feelings, ordered the soldiers in whose care he was left, to treat him with attention and civility. G. Fox says, "He was civil and loving, and I declared many things to him relating to truth." After resting two days at York, he was again marched forward; but being under military escort, he experienced none of his former ill-treatment, but was attended with kindness till his arrival at Scarborough Castle. Here he was delivered into the custody of Sir Jordan Croslands, the governor of the castle, who, influenced, no doubt, by the instructions of his persecutors, treated him at first with barbarous severity. He says, "They put me into a room and set a sentry over me; but I being very weak and subject to fainting, they for a while let me go out sometimes into the air with the sentry." He was afterwards removed to a room very much open to the weather, and which smoked so exceedingly that he could but seldom have the benefit of a fire. The governor, coming one day to see his prisoner, G. Fox begged of him to enter the room and see how incommodious and how unfit it was for a habitation: he then lighted a little fire, which immediately filled

the room so full of smoke that the governor could hardly find his way out. Sir Jordan was a papist, and George Fox told him, "Thou hast put me into thy purgatory."

In order to render this den a little more comfortable, he expended fifty shillings in repairs, a sum of much greater importance in those days, than it would be now; but no sooner had he made it a tolerable dwelling, than they removed him again into one much worse, in which he had neither chimney nor fire-hearth, which being exposed to the sea, and very much dilapidated, the rain and wind drove into every part of it, wetting both his clothes and bed. Here, from having no fire, by which to dry them, he became at last so benumbed from constant damp and cold, that his fingers swelled to double their usual size. Upon this room, also, he was at some expense for repairs; but in order to render his situation still more deplorable, he was so closely confined, that he was denied the privilege of seeing any of his friends, and was not only cut off from many little comforts with which they would have gladly supplied him, but the soldiers would sometimes steal from the person who brought them, even the few necessities he sent for. For a long period his food consisted of nothing but bread, and his drink of water, in which he had steeped a little wormwood. "Commonly," he says, "a three-penny loaf served me three weeks, and sometimes longer." Thus he may be truly said to have fed upon the bread and water of affliction.

Although he was rigidly denied any communication with his own Society, he was often visited by a variety of persons whom the governor admitted, either "to gaze upon him, or to dispute with him." Upon one occasion, a company of papists came, who affirmed, "That the pope was infallible, and had stood infallible ever since St. Peter's time. I showed them the contrary from history: for one of the bishops of Rome, by name Marcellinus, denied the faith, and sacrificed to idols; therefore, he was not infallible. I told them, if they were in the infallible spirit, they need not have jails, swords, staves, racks, tortures, whips, and gallows, by which to uphold their religion, and to destroy men's lives about religion; for if they were in the infallible spirit, they

would preserve men's lives, and use nothing but spiritual weapons about religion. I told them also what one that had been of their religion told me:

"A woman who lived in Kent, had not only been a papist herself, but had brought over several to that creed; but coming to be convinced of God's truth, and turned by it to Christ her Saviour, she exhorted the papists to the same. One of them, a tailor, being at work in her house, while she opened to him the falseness of the popish religion, and endeavoured to draw him from it to the truth, drew his knife and got between her and the door; but she spoke boldly to him, and bid him put up the knife, for she knew his principle. I asked the woman, 'What she thought he would have done with the knife?' She said, 'he would have stabbed her.' 'Stabbed thee,' said I, 'what would he have stabbed thee for?' 'Thy religion?' 'Yes,' said she; 'it is the principle of the papists, if any turn from their religion, to kill them if they can.' This story I told those papists, and that I had it from a person that had been one of them, but had forsaken their principles and discovered their practices. They did not deny this to be their principle; but said, 'What! would I declare this abroad?' I told them, 'Yes; such things ought to be declared abroad, that it might be known how contrary their religion was to true Christianity.' Whereupon they went away in a great rage."

"Another papist also came to discourse with me, who said 'All the patriarchs were in hell from the creation till Christ came, and that when Christ suffered he went into hell, and the devil said to him, 'What camest thou hither for, to break up our strong holds?' and Christ said, 'To fetch them all out.' 'So,' he said, 'Christ was three days and three nights in hell, to bring them out.' I told him that was false; for Christ said to the thief, 'This day shalt thou be with me in Paradise.' And Enoch and Elijah were translated into heaven. And Abraham was in heaven; for the Scripture saith, 'Lazarus was in his bosom;' and Moses and Elias were with Christ upon the mount before he suffered.' These instances stopped the papist's mouth, and put him to a stand."

He recounts also a visit from a Dr. Witty, a celebrated physician of his day, who came in company with Lord Falconbridge and other personages of consequence. This Dr. Witty had been a great partisan of the presbyterians, but was now a royalist. He asked him, "What are you in prison for?"

G. Fox. "Because I could not disobey the command of Christ and swear."

Dr. Witty. "You ought to swear your allegiance to the king."

G. Fox. "Hast thou not sworn against the king and the house of Lords, and taken the Scotch covenant? And hast thou not since sworn to the king? What is thy swearing good for? My allegiance does not consist in swearing, but in truth and faithfulness."

This reproof was far from agreeable to the doctor, and more difficult to swallow than one of his own gilded pills; for he abruptly broke off the discourse and took his leave. He came again, soon afterwards, upon another occasion, and also with a great company; and in opposition to the Quaker tenet, now asserted, "that Christ had not enlightened every man that cometh into the world," and "that the grace of God, that brought salvation," had not appeared unto all men, and that Christ had not died for all men.

G. Fox. "What sort of men are those whom Christ hath not enlightened? and to whom his grace hath not appeared? and for whom he hath not died?"

Dr. Witty. "Christ did not die for adulterers, and idolaters, and wicked men."

G. Fox. "Are not idolaters and wicked men sinners?"

Dr. Witty. "Yes."

G. Fox. "Did not Christ die for sinners? Did he not call sinners to repentance?"

Dr. Witty. "Yes."

G. Fox. "Then thou hast stopped thy own mouth."

"So I proved that the grace of God had appeared unto all men, though some turned from it into wantonness, and walked despitefully against it; and that Christ had en-

lightened all men, though some hated the light. Several of the company confessed that this was true, but the doctor went away in a great rage, and came no more."

"His next interview was with three 'parliament-men,' introduced by Sir Jordan Croslands." They asked him, "Whether he did not own ministers and bishops?"

G. Fox. "Yes; such as Christ sent; such as have freely received and will freely give; such as are qualified, and are in the same power and spirit the apostles were in. But such bishops and teachers as yours, that will go no farther than a great benefice, I do not own; for they are not like the apostles. Christ saith to his ministers, 'Go ye unto all nations, and preach the gospel;' but ye parliament-men, who keep your priests and bishops in such fat benefices, have spoiled them all. For do ye think they will go unto all nations to preach? or will go farther than a great fat benefice? Judge, yourselves, whether they will or no."

Another great company paid him a visit, who came in attendance upon Lady Fairfax, widow of the celebrated general. G. Fox says, "he was moved to declare the truth to them," and one of the company, a clergyman, reproved him for using the plain language, saying, "Why do you say thou and thee to people? for I count ye as fools and idiots for speaking so."

G. Fox. "Are not those that translated the Scriptures, and made the grammars and accidence, fools and idiots, seeing they translated the Scriptures so, and made the grammars so, *Thou* to one, and *You* to more than one, and left it so to us? If they were fools and idiots, why hast not thou, and such as thou, that look upon yourselves as wise men, and cannot bear thou and thee to a singular, altered the grammar, accidence, and Bible, and put the plural instead of the singular? But if they were wise men, that so translated the Bible, and made the grammars and accidence so, I wish thee to consider whether ye are not the fools and idiots yourselves, that do not speak as your grammars and Bibles teach you; but are offended with us, and call us fools and idiots for so speaking?"

"Thus," he says, "the priest's mouth was stopped; many of the company acknowledged the truth, and were loving and tender. Some would have given me money, but I would not receive it."

His next visit was from his old acquaintance, Dr. Craddock, whom he had consulted in the time of his early religious troubles, and whose temper had been so suddenly ruffled by George Fox having inadvertently put his foot upon the doctor's flower-border. The doctor had sunk into obscurity during the persecutions of his own church; but now that her adversaries were fallen, he re-appeared as one of her zealous champions.

Doctor Craddock. "What are you in prison for?"

G. Fox. "For obeying the command of Christ and the apostle, in not swearing. But if thou, being both a doctor and a justice, canst convince me, that after Christ and the apostle had forbidden swearing, they commanded Christians to swear, then I would swear. Here is a Bible, if thou canst show me any such command.

Doctor. "It is written, 'Ye shall swear in truth and righteousness.'"

G. Fox. "Aye, it was written so in Jeremiah's time, but that was many ages before Christ commanded not to swear at all; but where is it written so since Christ forbade all swearing? I could bring as many instances out of the Old Testament for swearing as thou canst, and it may be more; but of what force are they to prove swearing lawful in the New Testament, since Christ and the apostle forbade it? Besides, in that text where it is written, 'Ye shall swear,' &c., what ye was this? was it ye Gentiles, or ye Jews?"

One of the company. "It was to the Jews that this was spoken," to which the doctor assented.

G. Fox. "Very well; but where did God ever command the Gentiles to swear? for thou knowest we are Gentiles by nature."

Doctor. "Indeed, in the Gospel times, every thing was established out of the mouth of two or three witnesses; but there was to be no swearing then."

G. Fox. "Why then dost thou force oaths upon Christians, contrary to thy own knowledge in the Gospel times? And why dost thou excommunicate my friends? (for he had excommunicated abundance both in Yorkshire and Lancashire.)

Doctor. "For not coming to church."

G. Fox. "Why! ye left us about twenty years ago, when we were but young lads and lasses, to the presbyterians, independents, and baptists, many of whom made spoil of our goods, and persecuted us because we would not follow them. We, being but young, knew little then of your principles, and if ye had intended to keep the old men, that did know them, to yourselves, and to have kept your principles alive, that we might have known them, ye should either not have fled from us, as ye did, or you should have sent us your epistles, collects, homilies, and evening songs; for Paul wrote epistles to the saints, though he was in prison. But they and we might have turned Turks or Jews for any collects, homilies, or epistles we had from you all this while.* And now thou hast excommunicated us, both young and old, and so have others of ye done; that is, ye have put us out of your church, before ye have got us into it; and before ye have brought us to know your principles. Is this not madness in you, to put us out before were brought in? Indeed, if ye had brought us into your church, and when we had been in, if we had done some bad thing, that had been something like a ground for excommunication, or putting out again. But what dost thou call the church?"

Doctor. "Why, that which you call the steeple-house."

G. Fox. "Did Christ shed his blood for the steeple-house? Did he purchase and sanctify the steeple-house with his blood? And seeing the church is Christ's bride and wife, and that he is the head of the church, dost thou

* In this place, he might very well have applied to the doctor the passage from John x. 12, 13. "He that is a hireling, and not the true shepherd, whose own the sheep are not, seeth the wolf coming, and leaveth the sheep and fleeth: and the wolf catcheth them, and scattereth the sheep. The hireling fleeth, because he is a hireling, and careth not for the sheep."

think the steeple-house is Christ's wife and bride, and that he is the head of that old house, or of his people?"

Doctor. "No; Christ is the head of the people, and they are the church."

G. Fox. "But ye have given the title of church to an old house, which properly belongs to the people, and ye have taught them to believe so. Why do ye persecute Friends for not paying tithes? Did God ever command the Gentiles to pay tithes? Did not Christ end tithes when he ended the Levitical priesthood that took tithes? Christ, when he sent his disciples to preach, did he not command them to preach freely, as he had given them freely? And are not all the ministers of Christ bound to observe this command of Christ?"

Doctor. "I will not dispute that." Finding himself pushed upon this point, he quickly turned to another subject, and said, "You marry, but I know not how?"

G. Fox. "It may be so, but why dost thou not come and see?"

The doctor then threatened that he would use his power and influence against the Quakers, the same as he had ever done.

G. Fox. "Take heed, for thou art an old man. Where readest thou from Genesis to Revelation, that ever any priest did marry people? Show us some instances thereof, if thou wouldst have us come to thee to be married. Thou hast excommunicated one of my friends, two years after he was dead, about his marriage; and why dost thou not excommunicate Isaac, and Jacob, and Boaz, and Ruth? For we do not read that they were ever married by priests: but took one another in the assemblies of the righteous, in the presence of God and his people; and so do we. So that we have all the holy men and women, that Scripture speaks of in this practice, on our side."

Here the doctor, finding himself unequal to so skilful an antagonist, drew off his company and retired from the contest.

Many visiters of this description were freely admitted to

see him, though his own particular friends were denied this privilege, many of whom had come a great distance expressly for this purpose. If by chance a Quaker out of town came into the castle upon any business, he could not even look at George Fox without being much abused by the soldiers. This rigorous treatment was continued for a long time after his imprisonment, till at last the governor, overcome by his harmless and patient demeanour, relaxed the severity of his discipline, and bestowed upon him a little civility and indulgence.

His deliverance from this shameful duration was at length effected through the good offices of his old friend, Justice Marsh, who still retained his situation as an officer of the king's bed-chamber. Sir Jordan Croslands, having occasion to go before the parliament, undertook to see this gentleman and several other of his friends about the court, and to inform them of his cruel sufferings and long imprisonment. Esquire Marsh declared, "that he would go a hundred miles barefoot to obtain his release, he knew him so well;" and several other persons speaking well of him, the governor now looked upon him as an injured man, and upon his return, made every amends in his power for his former harsh treatment.

George Fox had now been immured, a close prisoner in Scarborough Castle, for more than twelve months, prior to which he had suffered in Lancaster Castle an equally rigorous confinement of fifteen months, when he drew up a full statement of his hard case. He also wrote to the king, stating, that he understood no man could restore him to his civil rights but the king himself. His friend, Marsh, took upon himself to deliver both these papers to his royal master, and succeeded so well in proving the innocence of his character, that the king was pleased to command his release through the Master of Requests. The substance of this order was:—"That the king being certainly informed that he was a man principled against plotting and fighting, and had been ready at all times to discover plots, rather than make any, &c., &c.; therefore his royal pleasure was, that

he should be discharged from his imprisonment," &c. This order was carried down to Scarborough by one of George Fox's friends, and as soon as it was delivered to the governor of the castle, he assembled all the officers of the garrison, and freely discharged him, giving him this passport:—

"Permit the bearer hereof, George Fox, late prisoner here, and now discharged by His Majesty's order, quietly to pass about his lawful occasions without molestation." "Given under my hand at Scarborough Castle, this 1st of September, 1666.

"JORDAN CROSLANDS,

"Governor of Scarborough Castle."

Upon his release, he wished to have made the governor some acknowledgment for the civility and kindness he had of late shown him, which, however, he courteously declined, telling him, "whatever he could do to him or his friends for the future, he would do it, and would never harm them." The promise he afterwards fulfilled; his station as governor affording him frequent opportunities of shielding the Quakers from the oppressive interference of busy and vulgar minds. The officers and soldiers had changed their conduct towards him for some time previous to his liberation, and had treated him with respect. They said of him, "He is as stiff as a tree, and as pure as a bell; for we never could bow him."

This remarkable passage in the life of George Fox offers a subject for just animadversion. The great legal importance attached to the ceremony of an oath by many men of high talents and exalted stations, could not have been held up to keener ridicule than it is by the simple facts of these trials. We see an innocent and unoffending man illegally debarred from his civil rights, and deprived of his personal liberty, because he could not conscientiously break one of our Saviour's most decisive and comprehensive commands. We see the jury, the court, the whole bench of magistrates, many of whom were clergymen, and all of them professed Christians, forswear themselves in their eager zeal and persecuting efforts to force him, against his conscience, to comply with

the form of an oath, to whose substance he had openly and fully assented.

The oath itself was particularly aimed against popish recusants, yet we behold a papistical magistrate using every means to oblige the prisoner to take an oath, which he himself could not consistently take, whatever might be his belief in the pope's power of absolving him from its obligations. We see also men, who had sworn adherence to the parliament and the Scotch covenant, afterwards swearing allegiance to the church and king. Clearly showing, that the use of an oath as a superior guarantee of truth in any solemn appeal, is of itself inefficient; for, as it is so often taken as a matter of mere form, the same self-serving interest that would lead a man to a falsity, would, in most instances, lead him also to a false oath.

The argument used by George Fox against the unlawfulness of swearing as a Christian practice, cannot be overthrown by any one admitting the validity of scripture authority, in its simplest grammatical sense, and upholding the sacred precepts of the gospel above all glosses and false interpretations, invented during the degeneracy of the church from the apostolic purity, and adapted to an erroneous worldly policy. This topic offers an important consideration to all those filling the office of Christian pastors, how far they are warranted in sanctioning this unjustifiable practice, so at variance with our Saviour's express command, "Swear not at all." Such men, above all others, are called upon to uphold the doctrines of their Lord and Master, Jesus Christ, whose commands they are not to dispute, but to obey, and to teach others to observe. "Why call ye me Lord, Lord, and do not the things which I say?"—Luke vi. 46. Nor can they consistently reject any one command, or give preference to another, because in the one instance it might accord with their views, or in the other be opposed to their prejudices; for this dangerous principle, once allowed, would set aside the gospel, and lead us to all the fatal errors of popery.

Now that the mental energies of mankind are again awakened to the momentous consideration of religious subjects,

and that a growing interest concerning the important truths of the gospel is gradually diffusing itself throughout all ranks, laical as well as clerical, it is of the greatest consequence that this renewed spirit of inquiry should be conducted by all parties with temper and Christian charity; and that, in the sincere desire only to establish the truth, all parties may be prepared to sacrifice their own prejudices, and to canvass the subject with candour and impartiality. For until the heart be actuated by this principle, schisms and separations, instead of being healed, will only continue to foment our religious differences. Let all denominations of Christians, therefore, bear in mind that there is only *one* true church of Christ, *one* faith, and *one* baptism, of which the regenerated Christian of every denomination is equally a living member.

The diversity of sentiment which now paralyzes the national church, as well as many other Christian communities, may originate, perhaps, in this renewed spirit of religious inquiry. We must therefore hope, that the discussion of such matters may lead to the advancement and diffusion of truth, rather than of schism; and also that in the same proportion as useful knowledge is now widely extended, so we may hope, that there is less to dread from the misguided zeal of one of the parties, who, instead of endeavouring to clear away the remaining trammels of popish superstition and error, is directing its attention to a rigid observance of forms and ceremonies now almost obsolete, and retrograding into the idolatrous usages of popery. "If the Church of England seems in any point to have failed or fallen, or to be about to fall,—if its spiritual power seems partially paralyzed,—if its tone of piety and holiness be deteriorated,—this lamentable effect has followed, not from a separation from popery, but from a neglect of our own Christianity; and by awakening and purifying, and developing our Christianity, not by assimilating ourselves with popery, the Church of England is to be placed once more in its high position." *

The people of England are most decidedly protestant, and

* Quarterly Review, cxli. page 206, Art. viii.

the late manifestations of abhorrence, so universally displayed by numerous large congregations, where the modern superstitious innovations have been introduced, prove how repugnant every thing savouring of popery is to their feelings, and that if any relapse to her superstitious errors is to be dreaded, we must look for it from the clergy of the Episcopal church, the very nature of whose collegiate education seems to dispose them to retrograde rather than carry forward a Reformation, at present only partially accomplished; and the foundation of which, the tractarians have long been striving to sap by insidious attacks, by the revival of obsolete ceremonies, and by inculcating a superstitious veneration for them.

These men, however good and sincere may be their motives, are, by their misdirected zeal, doing incalculable mischief to that church of which they profess themselves to be members; for many of their proselytes have repudiated the Reformation, and openly embraced popery; and in the nineteenth century, we are told by under-graduates, that the glorious Reformation, upon which is based our constitution and laws, was the greatest bane that ever befell Christendom; inferring, as though it were impossible for Christianity to exist independent of popery. They seem to forget that the Christianity of the Church of Rome comes from the everlasting gospel, whose glad tidings were freely preached centuries before the existence of popery, and belongs to all Christians; but that its errors, its superstitions, and its priestcraft belong to itself.

D'Aubigné thus opposes the two systems:—"To institute a mediatorial caste between man and God, and to cause men to purchase with works, with penances, and for a value in money, the salvation which God bestows, such is popery.

"To open to all through Jesus Christ, without human mediation, without that power called the church, a free access to the great gift of everlasting life bestowed by God on man; such is Christianity and the Reformation.

"Popery interposes the church between God and man. Christianity and the Reformation bring God and man together face to face." *

* D'Aubigné's Reformation, vol. i. book i. p. 317.

Tractarianism is nothing less than a fresh attempt of priestcraft to resume its dominion by riveting its shackles once more on the human mind, and as far as regards our own country, let us hope it is a dying effort. It shrinks from the pure test of the gospel, and leans for support upon the traditions and the writers of the dark and the middle ages. A similar attack upon the liberty of conscience was made by Laud, but by different means; and it ended in leading himself and his royal master to the scaffold. If the project failed in the seventeenth century, how can its promoters hope for success in the nineteenth? To Laud's innovations, we are, perhaps, indebted for the present feeble attempt to revive the sway of priestcraft.

Did all the advocates for the new innovations speak out and act as Mr. Ward, the papist, has done, there would be nothing to fear; for we should then understand exactly what they mean.

The laity of the Church of England are seriously invited to reflect, that this Mr. Ward was supported at Convocation by upwards of one thousand votes, and by a fair deduction, we may presume upon an equal number of adherents at the sister University—here then are two thousand spiritual teachers of the church ready to introduce and advocate the newly-revived superstitions, odious to all protestants, and therefore to be resisted by the united energies of the people. The introduction of any "Romish form," however trifling it may apparently be, is not so—"on the contrary, it seems to us a most important and dangerous innovation, and that strikes directly at one of the greatest blessings introduced by the Reformation—Common Prayer." *

A most important point for consideration suggests itself also to the clergy, that, by undermining the Reformation, they are shaking the very foundations of their own church, which as established by the law of the land, is neither Roman Catholic, nor Anglo-Catholic, but the Reformed Protestant Church of England, and the moment when she ceases to be

* Quarterly Review, cxli. Art. viii. p. 276.

a Reformed Protestant Church, she ceases to be the Church of England. She may purify herself by a more complete reformation, but by the law of the land can never become popish. How much more beneficial then would it not be, if the energies of her pious and zealous ministers were directed to this important point, rather than to the superstitions of surplices, "candlesticks, courtesies, and nosegays?" But the question no longer rests upon the mere revival of a few obsolete practices, it involves the fundamental principles of Christianity and the Reformation. Puseyism, like its prototype, Romanism, began its advance by insidiously attacking the outworks, and by attaching an extraordinary sanctity to the superstitious observance of some external and indifferent matters, gained a footing with the credulous. Emboldened by this success, it now begins to unmask its designs, and teaches men to look for salvation to the intercession and absolution of the priest: that this amnesty may be purchased by penances, fastings, good works, confessions, and the sacrifice of the eucharist; doctrines which are not to be found in the gospel, where, on the contrary, we are taught that man can do no meritorious work: "For by grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God."—Eph. ii. 8.

The Church of Rome assumes to itself the power, spirit, and purity of the apostles in the primitive church; and by assuming this fundamental error, there is an apparent consistency in all her other arrogant pretensions. Unfortunately for the Anglican church, her imperfect reformation places her in an inconsistent position. She professes to take the gospel as her only rule, and at the same time retains many Romish practices and doctrines opposed to this rule. She presents the anomaly of a priesthood and no sacrifice. The only sacrifice required by Christianity, is a "broken and contrite heart;" therefore the title of priest is a misnomer, for her clergy are only pastors and ministers of the word.

So long as these inconsistencies remain, her reformation will never be complete. Let her pious ministers unite to advance this great work, which, as it is of God, so it cannot

be overthrown, instead of endeavouring to retard its progress by retrograding to superstitions; for the day has passed into oblivion, when the priest, issuing from his cloister, found the people willing to admit of whatever doctrine he chose to promulgate. The new innovations are hateful to an enlightened and thinking people, who know their own power, and however mean an opinion their learned pastors may be pleased to entertain of their judgment upon religious questions, the time is fast approaching, when the power created by the general diffusion of knowledge, will be felt; and if the clergy refuse to advance with the times, the further reformation of the church will be taken out of their hands by the people, and the result, in that case, may be the final subversion of the hierarchy.

“Man always seeks to return, in some way or other, to a human salvation; this is the course of innovation of Rome and Oxford. The substitution of the church for Jesus Christ, is that which essentially characterizes their opinions. It is no longer Christ who enlightens, Christ who saves, Christ who forgives, Christ who commands, Christ who judges; it is the church, and always the church, that is to say, an assembly of sinful men, as weak and prone to err as ourselves.”

“These errors are practical errors, destructive of true piety in the soul, a deprivation of God’s influence, and an exaltation of the flesh, although in a form that “has the show of wisdom in will-worship and humility.” *

Dr. Sumner, when Bishop of Winchester, says, in his charge of 1841, “I cannot but fear the consequences, that a system of teaching which confines itself to the external and ritual parts of divine worship, while it loses sight of their internal signification and the spiritual life, may have upon the character, the efficacy, and the truth of our church: a system which robs the church of its brightest glory, and, forgetting the continual presence of the Lord, seems to depose him from his just pre-eminence; a system which tends to put the observance of days, months, times, and seasons in the place

* D’Aubigné’s Discourses. Dis. xi. p. 200.

of a true and spiritual worship; which substitutes a spirit of hesitation, fear, and doubt for the cordial obedience of filial love; a slavish spirit for the liberty of the gospel; and which, indeed, calls upon us to work out our sanctification with fear and trembling, but without any foretaste of the rest that remaineth for the people of God, without giving us joy in believing." *

St. Paul tells us, that "the holy scriptures are able to make wise unto salvation, through faith, which is in Christ Jesus;" that "all scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness: that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works."—2 Tim. iii. 15, 17.

Therefore, the study of the sacred volume, assisted by divine grace, is sufficient for our spiritual guidance and comfort; for it teaches us that Christ is the rock of our faith, † upon which we are to build, and not upon the assertions of any popish saint, or upon the decrees of any popish council: and ecclesiastical history shows, that the fruits of such decrees and of such articles of faith, have been endless and unprofitable disputations. If, therefore, all mankind would only concur in studying the sacred writings more, and controversial divinity less, we might live to see a diminution instead of a multiplication of those unpleasing words terminating in "ites" and "isms." An ingenious writer has somewhere observed, "that there is a species of religion, (if it is worthy of the name,) which consists more in speculative belief, and in fiery zeal about contested opinions, than in that pure religion which teaches us 'to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep ourselves unspotted from the world.' " ‡

In proportion as a people become enlightened, they become also more anxious to correct the errors, and to reform the abuses of their civil and religious institutions. We have endeavoured to show, in the introductory chapter of this work, that the Reformation, as far as it was permitted to go by

* D'Aubigné's Discourses. Dis. xi. p. 200.

† 1 Cor. x. 4.

‡ James i. 27.

Queen Elizabeth, fell very short of the standard of purity aimed at by those pious divines, whom she recalled from exile, to place at the head of the national church; and, that they yielded a reluctant compliance to many of the Queen's commands, for the sake of peace alone, regarding the present reformation only as a prelude to something more perfect, because the Queen's intractability insisted upon the retention, in their opinion, of many popish superstitions, the expurgation of which, they foresaw, must fall to the lot of a future generation.

As this practical perfection depends upon the universal regeneration of the human heart, and cannot be looked for, till the "Stone that was cut out without hands" shall have "become a great mountain, and filled the whole earth;" we ought not to relax in our endeavours, by the diffusion of religious science, to assist in bringing about this desired object, the end of all real reformation. Our oft-cited author, Bishop Burnet, in the preface to the supplementary volume of his *Reformation*, observes: "Certainly our reformation, as happy as we are in what we enjoy of it, was never yet perfect; nor can ever be, till we all come openly to acknowledge, and to act consistently with that principle, which was the only ground upon which the Reformation did, or could, stand; namely, that the *scriptures are the only rule of faith to Christians*, and that every Christian, as he is to answer to God for his own actions, and not others for him, so he is to judge for himself, how he is to act in matters of religion, and not others to judge for him." The argument urged by one of the modern church-parties against all further reforms and changes, as dangerous innovations, is untenable; because the same argument was, with equal justice and reason, employed by the papists at the time of the Reformation, and no doubt will be reiterated as long as the party employing it has any thing to lose or dread from the result. From the instability and imperfection of all human institutions, a change must come sooner or later: whether or not it will be accompanied by schism, time only will show. Let us rather hope, that instead of fresh schisms, all sincere believers may become more closely united.

CHAPTER XV.

1666—1671. The great fire of London—Subterfuges of the presbyterians—His interview with a papist at Justice Marsh's—His marriage with Margaret Fell at Bristol—His wife again imprisoned upon her old sentence of premunire, and discharged by the king.

"This is thankworthy, if a man for conscience toward God endure grief, suffering wrongfully. For what glory is it, if when ye be buffeted for your faults, ye shall take it patiently? but if when ye do well, and suffer for it, ye take it patiently; this is acceptable with God."—1 Peter ii. 19, 20.

The great fire of London which followed the pestilence of 1666, broke out the day after George Fox was released from Scarborough Castle, and was a confirmation, in his belief, of those judgments of God, of which he had a vision while a prisoner in Lancaster Castle. London was forewarned of this calamity by a Quaker from Huntingdonshire, by name Thomas Ibbot, who entered London on horseback, the Friday preceding the fire, and turning his horse loose, he unbuttoned his garments and ran about the streets, scattering his money and crying out, "So should they run up and down, scattering their money and goods, half undressed like mad people, as he was a sign to them:" which prediction, though no one believed at the time, was fully verified during the conflagration.

George Fox notices in his journal, the circumstance of several other Friends, having been moved at different times during the Commonwealth, to go about the country denouncing woes, and exhibiting themselves naked at markets and other public places, as signs of the nakedness that was soon coming upon all those hypocritical professors of extraordinary sanctity, who nevertheless persecuted their peaceable Christian brethren for acting up to the dictates of their consciences. He recounts with feelings of commiseration, that

these Friends were whipped and imprisoned for these strange exhibitions; for which no precedent can be found in the lives of the apostles, and early Christians who immediately succeeded them. As the tenor of Christianity is to inculcate obedience to the civil magistrate, and all civilized communities must have laws to enforce morality, and preserve decency, our limited capacities will not permit us to reconcile such revolting practices, although it is evident George Fox did not regard them as inconsistent.

Mary Ann Keltz, in the prefatory chapter of her vivid sketches of the early days of Quakerism, remarks, "I am prepared to find some doubts here and there entertained, as to some of the early Quakers having been called by the will of God into many things to which they believed themselves so called, seeing that they were thereby often led into circumstances, which, in human estimation, appeared as unnecessary as they were strange.

"But to the pious and humble-minded (and it is chiefly to such, that a work of this kind can be acceptable) it will surely be enough to say, that God requires *obedience* of his creatures, and not reasonings. Besides, that it ill becomes beings of our limited capacities to say what is, or is not strange; for we find, and that almost invariably, that when it pleases the Most High to manifest his mighty power, and 'make bare his arm in the midst of the nations,' He does it in a way to confound the pride of reason. 'I will overturn—overturn—overturn,'—this is his language, and this is his mode of action."

"What could exceed in strangeness, to human comprehension, the requirements that were laid upon Abraham, Moses, the prophets, and many others too numerous to mention?"

"*The submission of the heart* was what these holy men concerned themselves with; not the strangeness of the mode in which that noble and God-glorifying principle of obedience was outwardly to be exhibited. They were used to strange things,—to terrible things to flesh and blood, when they came to deal with the Father of spirits. They found it to be God's way to break. and bruise, and batter, and con-

found 'the wisdom of the wise, and bring to nothing the understanding of the prudent,' by requiring them to submit to strange and humbling proceedings."

We are not to suppose that the Quakers, as a religious body, altogether approve of these ebullitions of excitement, because the examples were rare, and the Society even in these early days exercised a salutary oversight in these matters, lest any Friend, under such extraordinary impressions of duty, might not be labouring under a discomposure of mind, which in some instances was no doubt the case, where a heated imagination, thrown off its proper guard and caution, was acted upon by the fanatical spirit of the age.

When we see that the bulk of mankind judge from hasty conclusions, how can we wonder, that strange rumours, and books filled with all sorts of misrepresentations, should have been put forth by their enemies, who were glad to avail themselves of the irrational actions of a few individuals to condemn the whole body. *Blome's Fanatic History*, was a work of this description, and was aimed chiefly against the Quakers, it contained many misrepresented facts, and a multitude of falsities, all of which were fully disproved by contemporary writers. We must recollect, that no society is chargeable with the disapproved misconduct of any of its particular members; and also, that "when a great religious ferment takes place, some impure elements always mingle with the manifestation of the truth."*

After his release, George Fox travelled through Yorkshire up to London, visiting the established meeting of Friends on his way, "having," as he says, "many large and precious meetings among the people. But I was so weak," he adds, "from lying almost three years in cruel and hard imprisonment, and my joints and body were so benumbed, that I could hardly get on my horse, or bend my joints, nor could I well bear to be near a fire, nor to eat warm meat, I had been so long kept from them. Being come to London, I walked a little among the ruins, and took good notice of

* D'Aubigné's Reformation, vol. iii. book ix. chap. vii. p. 276.

them. I saw the city lying, according as the word of the Lord came to me concerning it several years before."

He finishes the narrative of his imprisonment with these reflections. "I could not but take notice how the hand of the Lord turned against these my persecutors, who had been the cause of my imprisonment, or had been cruel or abusive to me under it. For the officer that took me to Houlker Hall, wasted his estate and soon after fled to Ireland. Many of the justices that were upon the bench at the sessions when I was sent to prison, died in a short time after, as Justices Preston, Porter, Rawlinson, and West. Fleming lost his wife, who left him with thirteen or fourteen motherless children: he had imprisoned two Friends to death, and thereby made several children fatherless. Colonel Kirby never prospered after. The chief constable, the two under-constables, and the wife of one of them who had railed at me in her house, the witness that appeared against me, Hunter the jailer at Lancaster, and the under-sheriff that carried me from Lancaster to Scarborough, were all cut off, and some of them in their prime.

"When I came into that country again, most of those that dwelt in Lancashire were dead, and others ruined in their estates: so that, though I did not seek revenge upon them, for their actings against me contrary to law, yet the Lord had executed his judgments upon many of them." In these passages, we are not to understand, that either George Fox or the Quakers, looked upon such judgments as having fallen in consequence of their own sufferings; but in the general sense, that the judgments of the Almighty will fall upon all the wicked, whenever the measure of their iniquity is filled up.

The year 1666 was one of remarkable suffering to the Quakers, for the unrelenting rage of their persecutors was poured out with increased severity in London, where most of the jails were filled with men, women, and children of this persuasion, and at a time when the pestilence was raging with so much violence, that numbers died in confinement from the rapid spread of contagion in unwholesome and

crowded dungeons. Many others also had been driven into exile, or transported as felons to the unhealthy plantations of Barbadoes, Jamaica, and Nevis, for no other offence than refusing conformity to the Reformed Church of England: from the ministers of which church emanated this unchristian persecution.

How could they reconcile such conduct with the declaration of St. Paul, "Though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing."*

No less than one hundred and eight men and women of this Society were sentenced to transportation as convicts, and thirteen married women to imprisonment in Bridewell. Of these, fifty-five men and eight women actually suffered banishment.

During this period of hot persecution, George Fox travelled over a great part of England and Wales to exhort and encourage his followers, and in a most remarkable manner escaped all the contrivances of his enemies to apprehend him; for although he was an object universally sought after, yet he never went out of his direct course in the fulfilment of his duty, to avoid his pursuers, who failed in their attempts to take him.

It was about this time that he first instituted "Monthly Meetings," for the better ordering of their discipline, the management of their poor, the registering of births, deaths, and marriages, and for other matters relating to the government of the Society; and for this purpose, he divided the different counties into suitable districts, and appointed five for the metropolis. He also regulated the ceremony of their marriages, adopting nearly the same form as the one now in use. Prior to these arrangements, the business of the Society had been settled at large meetings, convoked at first, only once a year, and afterwards quarterly.

The first meeting of this description was held in 1660, at Skipton, in Yorkshire. G. Fox says of it, "Many Friends

* 1 Cor. xiii. 3.

came to it out of most parts of the nation; for it was about business relating to the church, both in this nation and beyond sea. Several years before, when I was in the north, I was moved to recommend to Friends the setting up of this meeting for that service; for many Friends suffered in divers parts of the nation, their goods were taken from them contrary to law, and they understood not how to help themselves, nor where to seek redress. But after this meeting was set up, several Friends who had been magistrates, and others who understood something of the law, came thither, and were able to inform Friends, and to assist them in gathering up the sufferings, that they might be laid before the justices, judges, or parliament. This meeting had stood several years, and divers justices and captains had come to break it up; but when they understood the business Friends met about, and saw their books and accounts of collections for the relief of the poor, how we took care, one county to help another, and to help our Friends beyond the sea, and to provide for our poor that none of them should be chargeable to their parishes, the officers would confess, that we did their work, and would pass away peaceably and lovingly, commending the practice of Friends. Sometimes there would come two hundred of the poor of other people and wait till the meeting was done, for all the county knew that we met about the poor; and after the meeting, Friends would send to the bakers for bread and give every one of these poor people a loaf, how many soever there were of them, for we were taught 'to do good to all, though especially unto the household of faith.'"

In the year 1667, a proclamation was made under the Conventicle act, forbidding all religious meetings, under severe penalties. George Fox was at the time in Herefordshire, where a great meeting of presbyterians was spoken of, who had all engaged themselves to stand firmly to their principles, and to suffer any extremities rather than forego their meetings. Upon this occasion, numbers of the people flocked to this invitation of their pastor, but dispersed almost as soon as assembled; for he, dreading the consequences, had

abandoned his flock and fled. It was agreed, however, that they should meet again privately at Leominster, and should provide themselves with bread, cheese, and drink, that in case of a surprisal by the officers, they might put up their Bibles and fall to eating. The bailiff of the town, gaining information of their intentions, broke in upon them, and said, "their bread and cheese should not cover them, for he would have their speakers;"—who began to bemoan themselves, and to cry out, "What would become of their wives and children?" He took their speakers, and after retaining them some time in custody, said of them: "They were the veriest hypocrites that ever made profession of religion."

This practice prevailed with the presbyterians in other places; for George Fox calling at the house of one Pocock, who was a high professor among them, and had been one of the "Triers of Ministers," under Cromwell's parliament, and one who used in contempt to call the Quakers "house-creepers." This man's wife, who was a Quaker, said to G. Fox, "I have something to speak to thee against my husband."

G. Fox replied; "Nay, thou must not speak against thy husband."

Mrs. Pocock. "Yes, I must in this case. On the last Sabbath-day, he, his priests, and people met: they had candles, tobacco-pipes, bread, cheese, and cold meat upon the table; and they agreed before-hand, that if the officers should come in upon them, they would leave their preaching and praying, and fall to their cold meat."

G. Fox. "Oh! is it not a shame in you who imprisoned us, and spoiled our goods, because we could not join in your religion, and called us 'house-creepers,' that ye did not stand to your own religion yourselves? Did ye ever find our meetings stuffed with bread and cheese, and tobacco-pipes? or did ye ever read in the Scriptures of any such practices among the saints?"

Pocock. "Why, we must be wise as serpents."

G. Fox. "This is serpent wisdom indeed. But who would have thought that you presbyterians and indepen-

dents, who persecuted and imprisoned others, spoiled their goods, and whipped such as would not follow your religion, should now flinch yourselves, and not dare to stand to your own religion, but cover it with tobacco-pipes, flagons of drink, cold meat, and bread and cheese. Such like deceitful practices," he adds, "were common among this class of dissenters during these times of persecution."

The following year, 1668, he was at Barnstaple in Devonshire, and relates the following piece of wanton cruelty. Two Quakers from this place had been on a long voyage, (one of them a married man with a family,) they had just returned and were visiting their friends and acquaintances, when they were sent for by the mayor, as though he wished to ask them some questions relating to their voyages; but his design was only to insnare them, for as soon as they appeared before him, he tendered to them the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. Upon their refusal to swear, he committed them to Exeter jail, and at the ensuing assizes, they were both premunired by Judge Archer, and kept in such close confinement, that one of them died. George Fox says, "I was moved to write both to the mayor and to the judge, to lay before them their wicked and unchristian actions, and to warn them, that the blood of the man would be required at their hands."

About this time, he had another curious interview with a papist. "Being in London, I went one day to call upon Justice Marsh, who had shown so much kindness both to myself and to Friends. I happened to call when he was at dinner. He no sooner heard my name, but he sent for me up, and would have had me sit down with him to dinner; but I had not freedom to do so. Several great persons were at dinner with him; and he said to one of them, who was a papist of some distinction, 'Here is a Quaker, a persuasion you have not seen before.' He asked me, 'Do you own the christening of children?'"

G. Fox. "There is no Scripture for any such practices."

Papist. "What! not for christening children!"

G. Fox. "Nay; the one baptism by the one Spirit into

one body we own; but to throw a little water on a child's face, and say, that is baptizing and christening it, there is no Scripture for that."

Papist. "Do you own the catholic faith?"

G. Fox. "Yes; but neither the Pope nor the papists are in the catholic faith; for the true faith works by love, and purifies the heart; and if they were in that faith which gives victory, by which they might have access to God, they would not tell the people of a purgatory after they were dead. For the true, precious, divine faith, of which Christ is the author, gives victory over the devil, and sin, that separated man and woman from God. And if the papists were in the true faith, they would never use racks, prisons, and fines to persecute and force others to their religion, who were not of their faith. This was not the practice of the apostles and primitive Christians who witnessed and enjoyed the true faith of Christ, but it was the practice of the Jews and heathens to do so. But seeing thou art a great leading man amongst the papists, and hast been taught and bred up under the Pope, and seeing thou sayest, 'There is no salvation but in your church,' I desire to know of thee, what it is that doth bring salvation in your church?"

Papist. "A good life."

G. Fox. "And nothing else?"

Papist. "Yes; good works."

G. Fox. "Is this your doctrine and principle?"

Papist. "Yes."

G. Fox. "Then, neither thou, nor the Pope, nor any papist, know what it is that brings salvation."

Papist. "What brings salvation in your church?"

G. Fox. "That which brought salvation to the church in the apostles' days, the same which brings salvation to us, and nothing else, namely, 'the grace of God,' which the Scripture says, 'brings salvation, and hath appeared to all men,' which taught the saints then, and teaches us now."

This grace, which brings salvation, teaches "to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live godly, righteously,

and soberly." So it is not the good works, nor the good life, that brings salvation, but the grace.

Papist. "What! does this grace that bringeth salvation, appear unto all men?"

G. Fox. "Yes."

Papist. "I deny that."

G. Fox. "All that deny that are sect-makers, and are not in the universal faith, grace, and truth, which the apostles were in."

He then spoke to me about the mother-church; I told him "the several sects in Christendom had accused us, and said, 'we forsook the mother-church.' The papists charged us with forsaking their church, saying, 'Rome was the only mother-church.' The episcopalians taxed us with forsaking the old protestant religion, alleging, 'theirs was the reformed mother-church.' The presbyterians and independents blamed us for leaving them, each pretending, 'theirs was the right reformed church.' But, said I, if we could ever own any outward place to be the mother-church, we should own Jerusalem, where the gospel was first preached by Christ himself and the apostles; where Christ suffered, where the great conversion to Christianity by Peter was, where were types, figures, and shadows, which Christ ended, and where Christ commanded his disciples to wait till they were endued with power from on high. If any outward place deserved to be called 'mother,' that was the place where the first great conversion to Christianity was. The apostle saith, Gal. iv. 26, 27, 'Jerusalem, which now is, is in bondage with her children; but Jerusalem, which is above, is free, which is the mother of us all. For it is written, Rejoice, thou barren, that bearest not; break forth and cry, thou that travailest not: for the desolate hath many more children than she that hath a husband.' The apostle doth not say, outward Jerusalem was the mother; though the first and great conversion was there; and there is less reason for the title (mother) to be given to Rome, or to any other outward place or city, by the children of Jerusalem, that is above and free; neither are they the children of Jerusalem that is above and free,

who gave the title of mother, either to outward Jerusalem or to Rome, or to any other place or sect of people. And though the title (mother) hath been given to places and sects by the degenerate Christians, yet we say still, as the apostle said of old, 'Jerusalem that is above, is the mother of us all.' We can own no other, neither outward Jerusalem, nor Rome, nor any sect of people for our mother, but the Jerusalem which is above. For all who are born again of the immortal Seed, by the word of God, which lives and abides for ever, feed upon the milk of the Word, the breast of life, and grow by it in life, and cannot acknowledge any other to be their mother but Jerusalem which is above. 'Oh!' said Justice Marsh to the papist, 'You do not know this man. If he would but come to church now and then, he would be a brave man.'

"After some further discourse, I went into another room with the justice, to speak to him concerning my friends; for he being a magistrate for Middlesex and a courtier, the other justices put much of the management of affairs upon him. He told me he was in some difficulty how to act between us and other dissenters. 'For they also said, 'they could not swear;' therefore, how am I to distinguish between you and them, seeing you all say that it is for conscience' sake that you cannot take an oath.' I told him, I will show thee how to distinguish. They, or most of them, thou speakest of, can and do swear in some cases, but we cannot swear in any case. If a man should steal their cows or horses, and thou shouldest ask them, whether they could swear they were theirs, many of them would readily do it; but if thou try our Friends, they cannot swear for their own goods. Therefore, when thou putttest the oath of allegiance to any of them, ask them, 'Whether they can swear in any other case, as for their cow or horse?' which if they be really of us, they cannot do, though they can bear witness to the truth. I then gave him an account of a trial in Berkshire: a thief stole two beasts from a Friend. The thief was taken and cast into prison, and the Friend appeared against him at the assizes; but somebody having informed the judge, that the

prosecutor was a Quaker, and could not swear, the judge before he heard the Friend, said, 'Is he a Quaker?' 'And will he not swear?' 'Then tender him the oath of allegiance and supremacy.' So he cast the Friend into prison and premunired him, and set the thief at liberty. Justice Marsh said, 'that judge was a wicked man.' But, said I, if we could swear in any case, we would take the oath of allegiance to the king, who is to preserve the laws that are to support every man in his estate. Whereas others, that can swear in some cases, to preserve part of their estates if they are robbed, will not take this oath to the king, who is to preserve them in their whole estate and bodies also. So that thou mayst easily distinguish and put a difference between us and these people."

Justice Marsh, by his interposition, rescued many from the dreadful sentence of premunire, and when the Quakers were brought before him, he did not forget the advice of G. Fox, and often disappointed their persecutors by setting them at liberty. Whenever he could not avoid sending some few to prison, he did it with mildness, and confined them only for a few hours or a night. "At length, he went to the king, and told him, 'he had sent some of the Quakers to prison, contrary to his conscience, and he could not do so any more.' Therefore, he removed his family from Limehouse, where he lived, and took lodgings near St. James' Park. He told the king, 'If he would be pleased to grant liberty of conscience, that would quiet and settle all; for then none could have any pretence to be uneasy.' And, indeed, he was a very serviceable man to truth and Friends in his day."

In 1669, he passed over from Liverpool into Ireland, to visit the meetings already established at most of the principal towns in the sister kingdom. Many people in this country being led away by the Calvinistic doctrine of election and reprobation, he was moved to declare to them the error of such opinions, which he published in the following address:

"You say that God hath ordained the greater part of mankind for hell, and that they were so ordained before the world began; for which your proof is in Jude. You say

Esau was reprobated, and the Egyptians, and the stock of Ham. But Christ saith to his disciples, 'Go, teach all nations;' and, 'Go into all nations, and preach the gospel of life and salvation.' If they were to go to all nations, were they not to go to Ham's stock, and to Esau's stock? Did not Christ die for all? Then for the stock of Ham, of Esau, and the Egyptians. Doth not the scripture say, 'God would have all men to be saved?' Mark, 'all men,' then the stock of Esau and Ham also. Doth not God say, 'Egypt, my people?' and that He would have an altar in Egypt?—Isa. xix. Were there not many Christians formerly in Egypt? And doth not history say, that the Bishop of Alexandria would formerly have been pope? And hath not God a Church in Babylon? I confess the word came to Jacob, and the statutes to Israel; the like was not to other nations. For the law of God was given to Israel: but the gospel was to be preached to all nations, and is to be preached. The gospel of peace and glad tidings to all nations. He that believes is saved, but he that doth not believe is condemned already; so the condemnation comes through unbelief. And whereas Jude speaks of some that were of old ordained (or written of before) to condemnation, he doth not say, before the world began, but, 'written of old;' which may be referred to Moses' writings, who wrote of those whom Jude mentions, namely, Cain, Korah, Balaam, and the angels that kept not their first estate. Such Christians as follow them in their way, and apostatize from the first state of Christianity, were and are ordained for condemnation by the light and truth, which they are gone from. And though the apostle speaks of God's loving Jacob and hating Esau, yet he tells the believers, 'We all were by nature children of wrath, as well as others.' This includes the stock of Jacob, of which the apostle himself and all the believing Jews were. Thus both Jews and Gentiles were all concluded under sin, and so under condemnation, that God might have mercy upon all through Jesus Christ. The election and choice stand in Christ: and 'he that believes is saved, and he that believes not is condemned already.' Jacob typifies the second birth, which God loved;

and both Jews and Gentiles must be born again, before they can enter into the kingdom of God. When ye are born again, ye will know election and reprobation; for the election stands in Christ, the Seed, before the world began; but the reprobation lies in the evil seed since the world began."

In consequence of some of the papists having attended the meetings where G. Fox had preached, they attacked his tenets with much virulence: he therefore sent forth a challenge to all "friars, monks, priests, and Jesuits," to come forth and dispute with him, and "try their god, and their christ, which they made of bread and wine." But none of them answering the challenge, he told them, "they were worse than the priests of Baal; for Baal's priests tried their wooden god, but they durst not try their god of bread and wine; and Baal's priests and people did not eat their god, as they did, and then make another." These little incidents mark the spirit and temper of the times.

Passing through Scarborough in the course of his travels, he was courteously invited to the castle by his old acquaintance, Sir Jordan Croslands, and he paid both the knight and his lady a visit, who received him with every mark of esteem, being now perfectly sensible of the sincerity and uprightness of his character.

About the latter end of this year he went to Bristol; at which place he entered into matrimonial alliance with his old friend and fellow-sufferer, Margaret Fell. The particulars of this event afford a pleasing trait of the integrity and simplicity of his dealings.

"I had seen from the Lord, a considerable time before, that I should take Margaret Fell to be my wife; and when I first mentioned it to her, she felt the answer of life from God thereto. But though the Lord had opened this thing to me, yet I had not received a command from Him for the accomplishing of it at this time. Wherefore I let the affair rest, and went on in the work and service of the Lord, according as He led me; travelling in this nation and through Ireland. But now being at Bristol, and finding Margaret Fell there, it opened to me from the Lord, that the thing

should be accomplished. After we had discoursed the matter together, I told her, 'if she also was satisfied with the accomplishing of it now, she should first send for her children:' which she did. When her daughters were come, I asked both them and her sons-in-law, 'if they had any thing against it, or for it?' and they all severally expressed their satisfaction therewith. Then I asked Margaret Fell, 'if she had fulfilled her husband's will to her children?' she replied, 'the children knew she had.' Whereupon I asked them, 'whether, if their mother married, they should not lose by it?' I asked Margaret, 'whether she had done any thing in lieu of their claims, which might answer it to the children?' They replied, 'she had answered it to them, and desired me to speak no more about it.' I told them, 'I was plain, and would have all things done plainly: for I sought not any outward advantage to myself.' So our intention of marriage was laid before Friends, both privately and publicly, to their full satisfaction, many of whom gave testimony that it was of God. Afterwards, a meeting being appointed on purpose for the accomplishing thereof, we took each other in marriage, in the meeting-house at Broad Mead, in Bristol; the Lord joining us together in the honourable marriage, in the everlasting covenant and immortal Seed of Life. In the sense whereof, living and weighty testimonies were borne thereunto by Friends in the movings of the heavenly power which united us together. Then was a certificate, relating both the proceedings and the marriage, openly read, and signed by the relations, and by most of the ancient Friends of that city; besides many others from divers parts of the nation."

"We stayed about a week at Bristol, and then went together to Oldstone: where, taking leave of each other in the Lord, we parted, betaking ourselves each to our several service; Margaret returning homewards to the north, and I passing on in the work of the Lord as before. I travelled through Wiltshire, Berkshire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and so to London, visiting Friends: in all which counties I had many large and precious meetings."

At the time of their marriage, George Fox was about forty-

five, and his wife about fifty-five years of age. She was the widow of Thomas Fell, a judge of the Welch circuit, and a daughter of John Askew of Lancaster, descended from an ancient and honourable family of that county. The whole incident offers a striking instance of the leading Quaker principle; that is, not only suffering themselves, but also seeking earnestly to be guided in all the occurrences of life, temporal as well as spiritual, by the inward teaching of the grace of God; not only keeping their minds awake to its monitions, but their wills subdued to its guidance. As this is the grand Quaker principle, the great rule of their faith and lives, the right explanation of which was the leading feature of all their sermons, and the object of all their pilgrimages; I cannot too much impress upon the reader, that it is the fundamental principle of the everlasting gospel, and must always remain so, in spite of all sectarian differences.

1670. After a very short stay in the metropolis, he once more set out upon his travels, and having arranged to proceed through the intermediate counties as far as Leicestershire, he wrote to his wife to meet him there, "if she found it convenient;" but upon his arrival there, instead of finding his wife as he expected, he received a letter from her, informing him that she was again thrown into prison, having been arrested upon her old sentence of premunire, although, by an order from the king himself, she had been discharged from all its penalties the year before. George Fox therefore returned to London, and two of his wife's daughters, Mary Lower and Sarah Fell, immediately waited upon the king, who granted them an interview; for Mary Lower's husband was highly connected, and was brother to Dr. Lower, the king's physician. They acquainted Charles II. with their mother's sad predicament, and that, notwithstanding his majesty's orders, she was again put into prison by the Lancashire magistrates. The king was now pleased to command Sir John Otway to signify his pleasure by letter to the sheriff of the county, that she should be set at full liberty. This letter was carried down by her two daughters, and George

Fox, availing himself of this opportunity, wrote the following laconic epistle to his wife:—

“MY DEAR HEART IN THE TRUTH AND LIFE THAT CHANGETH
NOT.

“It was upon me that Mary Lower and Sarah should go to the king concerning thy imprisonment, and also to Kirby, that the power of the Lord might appear over them all in thy deliverance. They went, and thought to have come down, but it was upon me to stay them a little longer, that they might follow the business until it was effected; which it now is, and is here sent. The late declaration of mine, hath been very serviceable, people being generally satisfied with it.* So no more, but love in the holy Seed.

“GEORGE FOX.”

This second intimation of the king's will and pleasure, respecting the release of Margaret Fox, was presented to the sheriff by her two daughters, who had obtained it through a personal interview with Charles II. But her old enemies, by availing themselves of some informality, found means to evade even this command, and retained her still in close prison. Her husband was therefore obliged to renew his solicitations for her release, which was effected by means of Martha Fisher and another female Friend, who obtained a second interview with the king upon this troublesome affair, and informed him of all their difficulties. Charles now granted a free discharge under the great seal, to clear both herself and estate from the penalties and sentence of premunire, under which sentence she had been suffering for upwards of five years, and during which period she had been repeatedly thrown into prison.

This anecdote portrays the heedless character of Charles, and his natural aversion to business, and that in his pursuit of pleasure, he overlooked the slight and indignity put upon

* The declaration here alluded to, was published in consequence of a fresh persecution from the renewal of the Conventicle Act.

his orders by interested parties in office. Far different would have been the conduct of Elizabeth, under so irreverent a treatment of one of her mandates. Her royal countenance would have assumed no radiant smiles for any sheriff, however powerful he might have thought himself in his own county, had he so dared to evade her orders.

The condescending interference of the king in behalf of Margaret Fox, proves, however, that Charles was averse to these violent measures against his peaceable nonconforming subjects, and that, in all probability, he would have adhered to his proclamation from Breda, respecting religious toleration, had he not been driven by his necessities and extravagance, to concede these arbitrary proceedings to the high-church party, for the sake of obtaining supplies. Archbishop Sheldon was the leader of this faction, a man of great talent, and a shrewd politician, but little fitted for the office of a Christian bishop. Burnet says of him, "He seemed not to have a deep sense of religion, if any at all; and spoke of it most commonly as an engine of government, and a matter of policy." The same circumstantial writer informs us, that the Earl of Clarendon was very urgent with the king for concessions to the dissenters, "but the bishops did not approve of it."

The following address is that which G. Fox alludes to in his letter to his wife:

"O FRIENDS,

"Consider this act which limits our meetings to five. Is this to do as ye would be done by? Would ye be so served yourselves? We òwn Jesus Christ as well as you, his coming, death, and resurrection; and if we be contrary-minded to you, in some things, is not this the apostle's exhortation, 'to wait till God hath revealed it?' Doth he not say, 'What is not of faith, is sin?' Seeing we have not faith in things which ye would have us to do, would it not be sin in us if we should act contrary to our faith?' Why should any man have power over any other man's faith, seeing Christ is the author of it? When the apostles preached in the name of

Jesus, and great multitudes heard them, and the rulers forbade them to speak any more in that name, did not they bid them judge, 'whether it was better to obey God or man?' Would not this act have taken hold of the twelve apostles and seventy disciples; for they met often together? If there had been a law made then, that not above five should have met with Christ, would not that law have prevented him from meeting with his disciples? Do ye think that He who is the wisdom of God, or his disciples would have obeyed it? If such a law had been made in the apostles' days, that not above five might have met together, who had been different-minded either to the Jews or the Gentiles, do ye think the churches of Christ at Corinth, Philippi, Ephesus, Thessalonica, or the rest of the gathered churches, would have obeyed it? Oh! therefore consider! for we are Christians and partake of the nature and life of Christ. Strive not to limit the Holy One; for God's power cannot be quenched. 'Do unto all men as ye would have them do unto you; for that is the law and the prophets.'

"This is from those who wish you all well, and desire your everlasting good and prosperity, called Quakers; who seek the peace and good of all people, though they afflict us, and cause us to suffer.

"GEORGE FOX."

In consequence of the sharp persecution which broke out with renewed energy, after the passing of this disgraceful act, he felt himself called upon to encourage his fellow-believers, both by the animating example of his own steadfast conduct, and by exhorting them, in this day of new trials, to make a firm stand in support of their religious liberty, and to submit with resignation to whatever evils their adversaries might be permitted to bring upon them, rather than compromise in any way their characters as consistent Christians.

The Quakers expected that the church-party, in the general display of their new power for dispersing the different meetings in the metropolis, would make their principal at-

tack upon the meeting at Grace-church Street in the city. George Fox, therefore, determined to attend that meeting on the first Sunday after this act came into force, and with the courage of a faithful leader, chose the post of danger for himself.

A guard of soldiers had been sent early in the morning to take possession of the entrances to the meeting-house, and to prevent any one from gaining access. The excluded Quakers, therefore, held their meeting standing in the street, round the doors of the house, from which they were repelled by a military force; and a great concourse of other people, attracted by the novelty of the proceeding, waited to see the result.

"After I had spoken awhile," says G. Fox, "a constable came with an informer and soldiers, and as they plucked me down, I said, 'Blessed are the peace-makers.' The commander of the soldiers put me amongst them, and bid them secure me, saying to me, 'You are the man I looked for.' They took also John Burnyeate and another Friend, and had us away, first to the Exchange, and afterwards towards Moorfields. As we went along, the people were very moderate. Some of them laughed at the constable, and told him, 'we would not run away.' The informer went with us, unknown, till falling into discourse with one of the company, he said, 'It would never be a good world, till all the people came to the good old religion, that was two hundred years ago.' Whereupon I asked him, 'Art thou a papist?' What! a papist informer? 'for two hundred years ago, there was no other religion than that of the papists.' He saw that he had insnared himself, and was vexed at it; for as he went along the streets, I spoke often to him, and manifested what he was. When we were come to the Lord Mayor's house, and were in the court-yard, several asked me, 'How and for what was I taken?' I desired them to ask the informer; and also to know what his name was: but he refused to tell his name. Whereupon, one of the Mayor's officers, looking out of a window, told him, 'He should tell his name before he went away; for the Lord Mayor would know by what authority

he intruded himself with soldiers, into the execution of those laws which belonged to the civil magistrate to execute, and not to the military.' After this, he was eager to be gone; and went to the porter to be let out. One of the officers called to him, saying, 'Have you brought people here to inform against them, and now will you go away before my Lord Mayor comes?' Some one called to the porter not to let him out; whereupon he forcibly pulled open the door, and slipped out. No sooner was he come into the street, but the people gave a great shout, that made the street ring, crying out, 'a papist informer, a papist informer!' We desired the constables and soldiers to go and rescue him out of the people's hands, lest they should do him mischief. They brought him into the mayor's entry, where he stayed awhile; but as soon as he went out again, the people received him with such another shout. The soldiers rescued him once more, persuaded him to disguise himself in another periwig, and he got away unknown.

"When the mayor came, we were brought into his presence, and some of his officers would have taken off our hats; which he perceiving, bid them, 'Let us alone, and not meddle with our hats, for,' said he, 'they are not yet brought before me in judicature.' So we stood by while he examined some Presbyterian and Baptist teachers; with whom he was in some measure sharp, and convicted them. After he had done with them, I was brought to the table where he sat, and the officer took off my hat."

The Mayor. "Mr. Fox, you are an eminent man among those of your persuasion; pray, will you be instrumental to dissuade them from meeting in such great numbers? for, seeing Christ hath promised that where two or three are met in his name, he will be in the midst of them, and the king and parliament are graciously pleased to allow of four to meet together to worship God; why will you not be content to partake, both of Christ's promise to two or three, and the king's indulgence of four?"

G. Fox. "Christ's promise was not to discourage many from meeting together in his name, but to encourage the few,

that the fewest might not forbear to meet, because of their fewness. But if Christ hath promised to manifest his presence in the midst of so small an assembly, where but two or three were gathered in his name, how much more would his presence abound where two or three hundred are gathered to his name? Consider, also, whether this act would not have taken hold of Christ, with his twelve apostles and seventy disciples, if it had been in their time, who used to meet often together, and that with great numbers? However, this act does not concern us; for it was made against seditious meetings, of such as met, under colour and pretence of religion, 'to contrive insurrections, as (the act says) late experience had shown;' but we had been sufficiently tried and proved, and always found peaceable, and therefore thou wouldest do well to put a difference between the innocent and the guilty."

Mayor. "The act was made against meetings, and a worship not according to the liturgy."

G. Fox. "'According to,' does not mean the very same thing. Is not the liturgy according to the scriptures? And may we not read scriptures and speak scriptures?"

Lord Mayor. "Yes."

G. Fox. "This act takes hold only of such as 'meet to plot and contrive insurrections, as late experience hath shown;' but ye have never experienced that from us! Because thieves are sometimes on the road, must not honest men travel? And because plotters and contrivers have met to do mischief, must not an honest, peaceable people meet to do good? If we had been a people that met to plot and contrive insurrections, we might have drawn ourselves into fours; for four might do more mischief in plotting than if there were four hundred, because four might speak out their minds more freely one to another than four hundred could. Therefore, we being innocent, and not the people the act concerns, we keep our meetings as we used to do. I believe that thou knowest in thy conscience we are innocent."

After some further conversation, the mayor took down their names; and as the informer had fled, he dismissed them.

This mayor was Samuel Starling, who, although he behaved with great mildness in this instance, afterwards became a great persecutor of the Quakers, as may be seen in the remarkable trials of William Penn and William Mead, and others, at the Old Bailey in this year.

As soon as George Fox had procured the official document for his wife's release, he sent it down to her, with full instructions how she was to proceed, to get it enforced with the committing magistrates. He informed her, at the same time, that he wished her to join him in London, as soon as she could obtain her discharge, because he had it "upon his mind from the Lord," to proceed to America and to the plantations in the West Indies, and that the vessel in which he intended to sail was then fitting out for her voyage.

CHAPTER XVI.

1671—1673. Sails to Barbadoes—Publishes a declaration there—Sails to Jamaica, and from thence to North America—His travels upon that continent—Arrives in Bristol.

"They that go down to sea in ships, that do business in the great waters; these see the works of the Lord, and his wonders in the deep."—Psalm cvii. 23, 24.

"Bless the Lord, O my soul, and forget not all his benefits; who forgiveth all thine iniquities; who healeth all thy diseases; who redeemeth thy life from destruction; who crowneth thee with loving-kindness and tender mercies."—Psalm ciii. 2—4.

1671. We have already stated that the Quaker doctrine and tenets had spread abroad into several foreign countries, and had also been generally diffused throughout our colonies. Great numbers had, in consequence, yielded assent to their truth by uniting themselves to this Society; and many congregations of this persuasion were established at various places; but more particularly upon the continent of North America. George Fox, in conjunction with twelve other ministers, feeling a religious concern to visit their brethren across the Atlantic, sailed on the 12th of June of this year, in a large yacht, the *Industry*, Thomas Foster, master, bound for Barbadoes.

In this company were two females, Elizabeth Hooton and Elizabeth Miers, the former of whom was the first female preacher among the Quakers, and one of the first converts to George Fox's early preaching. Being at this time much advanced in years, she did not live to re-visit her native land, but ended the days of her pilgrimage in the island of Jamaica, where she was buried by her companions before they sailed for America. The female preachers of this persuasion, it must be recollected, participate equally with the men in all the gospel labours of the ministry.

In the early part of their voyage, they were chased by a Saltee ship of war. When this marauding vessel was first recognised, the captain made very light of the matter, assuring the passengers, about fifty in number, that there was no cause for alarm; for they should soon run her out of sight, and that about the duskiess of the evening she would be lost. But as the evening closed in, they found to their great dismay, that she was gaining considerably upon them, and the captain in consequence tacked about and sailed in another course, which tack was immediately adopted by the pirate, confirming them in their suspicions; for it was now very evident that she was not only in full chase, but bearing down upon them rapidly. The captain, in this dilemma, applied to G. Fox for advice how to act, alleging, "that if the mariners had followed the advice of St. Paul, they would have escaped danger and shipwreck." This appeal of the captain to George Fox, under impending danger, amounted to an involuntary acknowledgment of superiority; and proves that the general estimation of his character was based upon some qualities which exalted him in the eyes of all men, such as his uniform consistency, his known integrity, and exemplary piety. G. Fox told the captain, "that he was no mariner, and therefore felt incompetent to give him advice; but that he considered this to be a trial of faith, and therefore the Lord was to be waited upon for counsel." He then shut himself up in his cabin, and retiring in spirit, "the Lord showed him," he says, "that his life and power were placed between them and the pirate in chase." This he told to the master and the rest on board, and now advised him to tack about and follow his right course, "nothing doubting." About eleven o'clock, P. M., the watch suddenly called out, "They are just upon us," which intelligence caused a great bustle upon deck, and the noise arousing G. Fox, his first impulse upon looking out of his port-hole, and seeing the cruiser quite close, was to get up and go upon deck; but calling to mind the word of the Lord, "that his power was placed between them and the enemy," he again laid himself down. The master then came down into the cabin, and

asked him, "Whether they might steer in such and such a course?" G. Fox replied, "They might do as they would." At this critical moment of the chase, the moon went down, and a fresh gale sprung up, so that they miraculously escaped from their enemy, when upon the point of being boarded. "The Lord," he says, "hid us, and we saw nothing more of them." Upon the next morning (Sunday,) all being assembled to perform public worship, according to their usual practice upon that day; G. Fox exhorted the company "to remember the mercies of the Lord, who had delivered them; for they might have been all in the hands of the Turks by that time, had not the Lord's hand saved them." Scarcely, however, had a week elapsed after this incident, when their late dangers were forgotten by many on board, and even the master tried to persuade the passengers that it was not a Turkish man-of-war, but some merchant vessel going to the Canaries. Whereupon, G. Fox asked him, "Why then did he and his mariners speak to him? Why did they trouble the passengers? And why did they tack about and alter their course?" adding this just reproof, that "They should take heed of slighting the mercies of God."

Upon their arrival at Barbadoes, on the 3d of August, their first apprehension of the evil intentions of the cruiser was confirmed; for they heard in that port, that a Saltee pirate had given chase to a monstrous yacht at sea, and when just upon the point of taking her, she lost her all at once, there being, as they described it, "a spirit in her which they could not take."

The climate of Barbadoes disagreed with G. Fox, and his health, already much impaired by long and cruel imprisonments, suffered from continued inward fever, during his short stay there. He was courteously received by nearly all classes of the inhabitants, the governor invited him to his house, paid him much attention, and was often an auditor at his meetings, to which most of the chief men of the colony, including both civil and military officers, were in the practice of coming. His large meetings gave general satisfaction, with the exception of a few "jangling baptists," and some

of the stipendiary clergy, who did all in their power to calumniate his doctrine and principles.

One principal object in this visit was to establish the discipline and church government of the Friends of this colony, being very minute in his instructions and admonitions to them, for its well ordering. He also extended his paternal care over the negro race, advising their masters "to endeavour to train them up in the fear of God, as well those bought with money as those born in their families, that all might come to the knowledge of the Lord; that so, with Joshua, every master of a family might say, 'As for me and my house, we will serve the Lord.'" He also advised them, "that they should cause the overseers to deal mildly and gently with them, and not use cruelty towards them, as the manner of some has been, and is; and that after certain years of servitude they should be made free." Thus we see that cruelty began, even in these early days of negro slavery, to be exercised towards this poor condemned race of human beings, and that the Quakers were among the first, who, by example and precept, stepped forward to alleviate their unhappy condition; and well would it have been, if our earlier planters had adopted the wholesome and Christian advice of George Fox; for our legislature might then have been spared the pain of modern enactments upon the revolting evils which have occurred from a contrary practice.

The Society of Friends have been distinguished among the earliest, the most zealous, and the most persevering advocates for the amelioration of the condition of the negro.

They were highly instrumental in bringing about the abolition of this most nefarious traffic in human flesh, as far as regards England; and have now to rejoice, in common with other abolitionists, that slavery itself has ceased to exist in all her colonies. Highly to their credit, they have advocated this cause from the purest motives of humanity, and on the broadest principle of Christianity, "Peace on earth and good will towards (all) men." We have however to deplore, that after the gigantic efforts, and great pecuniary sacrifices, made by this country to bring about these two important objects,

that the sufferings of the negro, both in his own land, and in his transition to foreign shores, have been aggravated a hundred fold. And that the abolitionists have now to learn, that in all their past measures they have been mistaken, and that their labours for the benefit of this race of human beings, have accumulated additional horrors to their already degraded condition.

The researches of modern travellers in Central Africa afford no pleasing picture of the internal policy pervading most of the negro communities. These petty states seem to be in an almost constant state of warfare with one another; and one of the grand objects of all this incessant slaughter and waste of human blood, is to kidnap their own race, and sell them into a foreign bondage. The horrors of this nefarious warfare are, undoubtedly, greatly aggravated by the constant demand of the slave-merchant; but still, whatever guilt may be justly attached to him, who, with a superior knowledge of good and evil, thus tempts the African to crime; it is no justification of their own barbarous ravages upon one another; for we must bear in mind, that the slave (with a very few exceptions,) is purchased by the European from his own race; and that the greater portion of this wickedness, which originates with himself, is a direct violation of that sense of good and evil, which God has planted in the heart of the wildest savage for his guidance.

The public mind has been too much excited upon this subject; and although it is our duty, as Christians, to do all in our power, both by example and precept, to arrest this evil, it is clear that our interposition to suppress it by arms, has not hitherto been attended by any beneficial effect. By so doing we seem to forget that that Power, whose wisdom is inscrutable, and who suffers all evil for some wise end, can and will, in his own way, and in his own time, put an end to it.

How far the concentrated energies of the Anti-slavery Society, directed at present towards the civilization and Christianization of Central Africa, will succeed, is problematical. It is, however, a most gratifying reflection for every

true Briton, that his native country stands forth, foremost among the nations, opposed to these two revolting subjects; and that the potent flag of Great Britain not only unfolds itself stainless from the blood of this polluted traffic; but that in whatever region of the globe its standard now floats, it waves over a people as free as the breeze that wafts it.

At one of the numerous meetings held by George Fox at Barbadoes, a Colonel Lyne was so well satisfied with his doctrine, that he expressed to him afterwards, "Now I can gainsay such as I have heard speak evil of you, who say, 'you do not own Christ, nor that he died:' whereas I perceive that you exalt Christ in all his offices, beyond what I have ever heard before."

In order to clear himself and his followers from the erroneous imputations and slanders which their adversaries were busily employed in disseminating through the island, he published the following declaration:—

"FOR THE GOVERNOR OF BARBADOES; WITH HIS COUNCIL AND ASSEMBLY, AND ALL OTHERS IN POWER, BOTH CIVIL AND MILITARY IN THIS ISLAND; FROM THE PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.

"Whereas many scandalous lies and slanders have been cast upon us, to render us odious; as that, 'we deny God, Christ Jesus, and the Scriptures of truth,' &c. This is to inform you, that all our books and declarations, which for these many years have been published to the world, clearly testify the contrary. Yet, for your satisfaction, we now plainly and sincerely declare, 'that we own and believe in the only Wise, Omnipotent, and Everlasting God, the Creator of all things in heaven and earth, and the Preserver of all that He hath made; who is God over all, blessed for ever; to whom be all honour, glory, dominion, praise, and thanksgiving, both now and for evermore! And we own and believe in Jesus Christ, his beloved and only begotten Son, in whom He is well pleased; who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary; in whom we have redemp-

tion through his blood, even the forgiveness of sins; who is the express image of the Invisible God, the first-born of every creature; by whom were all things created that are in heaven and in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, dominions, principalities, or powers; all things were created by Him.

“And we own and believe that He was made a sacrifice for sin, who knew no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth; that He was sacrificed for us in the flesh, without the gates of Jerusalem; and that He was buried and rose again the third day by the power of his Father, for our justification; and that He ascended up into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God. This Jesus, who was the foundation of the holy prophets and apostles, is our foundation; and we believe there is no other foundation to be laid but that which is laid, even Christ Jesus, who tasted death for every man, shed his blood for all men, is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world: according as John the Baptist testified of Him, when he said, ‘Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world.’

“We believe that He alone is our Redeemer and Saviour, the Captain of our salvation, who saves us from sin, as well as from hell and the wrath to come, and destroys the devil and his works; He is the Seed of the woman that bruises the serpent’s head, to wit, Christ Jesus, the Alpha and Omega, the first and the last. He is (as the Scriptures of truth say of him) our wisdom, righteousness, justification, and redemption; neither is there salvation in any other; for there is no other name under heaven given among men, whereby we may be saved. He alone is the shepherd and bishop of our souls: He is our prophet, of whom Moses long testified, saying, ‘A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you of your brethren, like unto me; Him shall ye hear in all things whatsoever he shall say unto you: and it shall come to pass, that every soul that will not hear that prophet, shall be destroyed from among the people.’—Acts iii. 22, 23. He is now come in the Spirit, and hath given us an under-

standing that we may know Him that is true. He rules in our hearts by his law of love and of life, and makes us free from the law of sin and death. We have no life but by Him; for he is the quickening Spirit, the second Adam, the Lord from heaven, by whose blood we are cleansed, and our consciences sprinkled from dead works to serve the living God. He is our Mediator, that makes peace and reconciliation between God offended and us offending; He being the oath of God, the new covenant of light, life, grace, and peace, the author and finisher of our faith.

“This Lord Jesus Christ, the heavenly Man, the Emanuel, God with us, we all own and believe in; Him whom the high priest raged against, and said he had spoken blasphemy; whom the priests and the elders of the Jews took counsel together against, and put to death; the same whom Judas betrayed for thirty pieces of silver, which the priests gave him for a reward for his treason, who also gave large money to the soldiers to broach a horrible lie, namely, ‘that his disciples came and stole him away by night, whilst they slept.’ After He was risen from the dead, the history of the Acts of the Apostles sets forth how the chief priests and elders persecuted the disciples of Jesus, for preaching Christ and his resurrection. This, we say, is that Lord Jesus Christ, whom we own to be our life and salvation.

“Concerning the holy Scriptures, we do believe that they were given forth by the Holy Spirit of God, through the holy men of God, who, (as the Scripture itself declares, 2 Peter i. 21,) ‘spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.’ We believe they are to be read, believed, and fulfilled; (He that fulfils them is Christ;) and they are ‘profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, and for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works,’ 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17; and are ‘able to make wise unto salvation, through faith in Christ Jesus.’ We believe that the holy Scriptures are the words of God; for it is said, Exod. xx. 1, ‘God spake all these words, saying,’ &c., meaning the ten commandments given forth from Mount Sinai. And in Rev. xxii. 18, saith John, ‘I testify

to every man that heareth the words of the prophecy of this book: if any man addeth unto these, and if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy,' (not the word,) &c. So in Luke i. 20, 'Because thou believest not my words.' And in John v. 47; xv. 7; xiv. 23; and xii. 47. So that we call the holy Scriptures, as Christ and the apostles called them, and the holy men of God called them, viz., the words of God.

"Another slander which they have cast upon us, is, 'that we teach the negroes to rebel;' a thing we utterly abhor in our hearts; the Lord knows it, who is the searcher of all hearts, and knows all things, and can testify for us that this is a most abominable untruth. For that which we have spoken to them is, 'to exhort and admonish them to be sober, and to fear God; to love their masters and mistresses, and to be faithful and diligent in their masters' service and business; and then their masters and overseers would love them, and deal kindly and gently with them; also that they should not beat their wives, nor the wives their husbands, neither should the men have many wives; that they should not steal, or be drunk,—should not commit adultery or fornication,—should not curse, swear, lie, or give bad words to one another, or to any one else: for there is something in them that tells them, they should not practise these or other evils. But if, notwithstanding, they should do them, then we let them know that there are two ways, the one that leads to heaven, where the righteous go; and the other that leads to hell, where the wicked and debauched, adulterers, and liars go.'

"Consider, friends, it is no transgression for a master of a family to instruct his family himself, or for some others to do it in his behalf; but rather it is a very great duty incumbent upon them; Abraham and Joshua did so: of the first, the Lord said, Gen. xviii. 19, 'I know that Abraham will command his children and his household after him; and they shall keep the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgment, that the Lord may bring upon Abraham the things that he hath spoken of him.' And the latter said, Joshua

xxiv. 15, 'Choose ye this day whom ye will serve; but as for me and my house, we will serve the Lord.' We declare that we esteem it a duty incumbent on us to pray with and for those in and belonging to our families, and to teach, instruct, and admonish them; this being a command of the Lord, disobedience whereunto will provoke his displeasure, as may be seen, Jer. x. 25: 'Pour out thy fury upon the heathen, that know thee not, and upon the families that call not upon thy name.' Now negroes, tawnies, Indians, make up a very great part of the families of this island; for whom an account will be required by Him who comes to judge both quick and dead, at the great day of judgment, when every one shall be 'rewarded according to the deeds done in the body, whether they be good or whether they be evil.' "

"This wicked slander," he says, "of our endeavouring to make the negroes rebel, our adversaries took occasion to raise, from our having had some meetings with and among the negroes; for both I and other Friends had several meetings with them in several plantations, wherein we exhorted them to justice, sobriety, temperance, chastity, and piety, and to be subject to their masters and governors, which was altogether contrary to what our envious adversaries maliciously suggested against us. After I had despatched the service for which the Lord brought me thither, I acquainted the governor and divers of his council, that I intended shortly to leave the island, and go to Jamaica. This I did, that as my coming thither was open and public, so my departure also might be."

Upon the 8th of November he sailed for Jamaica, in company with Elizabeth Hooton and three of his male companions; part of the others remaining still at Barbadoes, and a part having preceded him to Jamaica. "There was great conviction," he says, "in this island, and many received the truth; some of whom were people of account in the world. We had many meetings there, which were large and very quiet. The people were civil to us, so that not a mouth was opened against us. I was twice with the governor, and

some other magistrates, who all carried themselves kindly towards me."

About a week after they landed, Elizabeth Hooton died; "she was quite well the day before, and departed in peace, like a lamb, bearing testimony to the truth at her departure."

1672. Early in the month of January, in company with several of his Friends, he proceeded from Jamaica to America. Their transit to this continent occupied about seven weeks, owing to contrary winds and great tempests. They encountered many hardships and dangers, especially in their passage through the Gulf of Florida; "when the winds," he says, "were so strong and boisterous, and the storms and tempests so great, that the sailors knew not what to do, but let the ship go which way she would, then did we pray unto the Lord, who did graciously hear and accept us, and did calm the winds and the seas, gave us seasonable weather, and made us to rejoice in his salvation: blessed and praised be the holy name of the Lord, whose power hath dominion over all, and whom the winds and sea obey!"

His ministerial labours in the New World were extended throughout Maryland, where he landed; through New Jersey, New York, and New England: he then returned back through the same governments to Virginia and Carolina. Upon this continent he was occupied about fifteen months, travelling incessantly from place to place, enduring the greatest fatigue from long and tedious journeys, performed on horseback through wild tracts of uninhabited forests, through treacherous bogs, and over dangerous rivers; sometimes passing over large waters, exposed in open boats to the inclemency of the seasons, and the dangers of tempests; frequently suffering, for whole days and nights, the rigour of an American winter, lying down upon the snow with no better shelter than the trunk of some enormous tree, the wraps they carried with them, and a watch-fire. These places, which were then inhospitable wilds, are now teeming with the habitations, and resound with the "busy hum of men," affording to the traveller comparatively every facility for his expedition, and every accommodation for his comfort.

Our limits will not admit of more than a few extracts from this part of his travels.

At Shelter Island, he held a large meeting among the Indians, to which came their king and his council, and about one hundred of his subjects. They sat down quietly with the Quakers, and were very attentive to his address, which was interpreted to them by an Indian who had acquired the English language. "After the meeting, they appeared very loving, and confessed that what was said to them was truth."

Being on the point of proceeding from New Jersey to Maryland, his presence of mind was called forth by an accident which had nearly deprived him of his companion, John Jay, who had accompanied him from Barbadoes, at which island he resided. While in the act of trying a horse for their journey, he was thrown from it, and fell with such violence upon his head, that those who beheld the fall and took him up, exclaimed, that he was dead, and that his neck was broken! George Fox says, "I got to him as soon as I could; and feeling him, concluded he was dead. And as I stood pitying him and his family, I took hold of his hair, and his head turned any way, his neck was so pliant. Whereupon I took his head in both my hands, and setting my knees against a tree, I raised his head, and perceived there was nothing out or broken that way. Then I put one hand under his chin, and the other behind his head, and in this manner raised his head two or three times with all my strength, and brought it in. I soon perceived his neck began to grow stiff again, and then he began to rattle in his throat, and quickly after to breathe. The people were amazed; but I bid them have a good heart, be of good faith, and carry him into the house. They did so, and sat him by the fire. I bid them get him something warm to drink and put him to bed. The next day we commenced our journey together, which he bore pretty well, and travelled about sixteen miles, through woods and bogs, and over a river; where we swam our horses, and got over ourselves in a hollow tree."

"Having hired Indians to be our guides, I determined to pass through the woods on the other side of the Delaware

Bay, that we might head the creeks and rivers as much as possible. The 9th day of the seventh month (July) we set forward, passed through many Indian towns, and over some rivers and bogs. When we had ridden about forty miles, we made a fire at night, and laid down by it. Whenever we came among the Indians we declared the day of the Lord to them."

For nine days their journey was continued in a similar manner, through bogs and forests, over rivers and rapids, sometimes bivouacing in the woods, and sometimes sheltered in the outbuilding of some straggling settler, till they arrived weary at Robert Harwood's, at Miles' River, in Maryland. "This was the 18th day of July; and though we were very weary, and much dirtied in getting through the bogs in our journey, yet hearing of a meeting next day, we went to it. On the First day (Sunday) following, we went three or four miles by water to a meeting, at which many were well satisfied; for the power of the Lord was eminently with us, blessed for ever be his holy name!"

When in Maryland, he attended the general meeting for all the Friends of that province, which held for five days; and some of these being public meetings, he says, "Many protestants of divers sorts came, and some papists: amongst those were several magistrates and their wives, and other persons of chief account in the country. There were so many, besides Friends, that it was thought they sometimes amounted to a thousand people; so that, though they had not long before enlarged their meeting-place, it could not contain the people. I went by boat every day four or five miles to the meeting, and there were so many boats at that time passing upon the river, that it was almost like the Thames. The people said, 'there never were so many boats seen together before.' And one of the justices said, 'he never before saw so many people together in that country.' It was a very heavenly meeting, wherein the presence of the Lord was gloriously manifested, and Friends were sweetly refreshed, the people generally satisfied, and many convinced; for the blessed power of the Lord was over all; everlasting praises to his holy name for ever!"

Upon one occasion of his travelling in Maryland by boat, during the night, in the month of December, they ran their boat aground in a creek, near the Manaco River. "There," he says, "we were fain to stay till morning, till the tide flowed and lifted her off. In the meantime, sitting in the open boat, and the weather being severely cold, some had like to have lost the use of their hands, they were so frozen and benumbed. In the morning, when the tide set our boat afloat, we got to land, and made a good fire, at which we warmed ourselves well, and then took boat and passed ten miles further to a Friend's house, where the next day we had a precious meeting, at which some of the chief people of the place were present."

In his ministerial labours among his own persuasion, he strove to establish good order, and to recall those who had, in some measure, wandered from the established doctrine and practices.

Governors, magistrates, and military men, every where paid him great attention, received him with cordiality, and treated him with kindness. At one place in Rhode Island, his preaching gave so much satisfaction, that some of the magistrates, little understanding his principles, consulted together about hiring him for a preacher, which intention coming to his knowledge, he observed to one of his friends: "It is time for me to be gone; for if their eye is so much to me, or to any of us, they will not come to their own teacher. For this thing (hiring of ministers,) hath spoiled many, by hindering them from improving their own talent; whereas our labour is, to bring every one to their own teacher in themselves."

In the state of New England, he held a large meeting with the ranters, reproved them for their extravagance, and reclaimed many of them from their errors.

The native Indians also were not excluded from his general system of gospel ministration. He visited several of their settlements, and held large meetings with them; speaking to them through an interpreter. They received him "lovingly," and told him, that they understood what he meant by the

“Inward Teacher,” who came from the “Great Spirit that made all things.” He was also moved to recommend this race to the care of his brethren settled in Carolina, as follows:—

“And (it would be well) if you had sometimes meetings with the Indian kings and their people, to preach the gospel of peace, of life, and of salvation to them. For the gospel is to be preached to every creature; and Christ hath tasted death for every man, and died for their sins, that they might come out of death and sin, and live to Christ, that died for them. The grace and favour of God appears unto all men: that all men may believe in his light, and walk in his Holy Spirit, and receive his grace, which will teach them to live godly, and bring them to salvation: thus you may come to see the light of Christ’s glorious gospel set up among those people.”

Again, in an address to the Quakers of Pennsylvania, he writes: “And sometimes you should have meetings with the Indian kings and their councils, to let them know the principles of truth; that they may know the way of salvation, and the nature of true Christianity, and how that Christ hath died for them, who tasted death for every man. Let them know that the gospel of salvation must be preached to every creature under heaven, and that Christ hath enlightened them, who enlightens all that come into the world. God hath poured out his Spirit upon all flesh; and so the Indians must receive God’s Spirit; for ‘the grace of God, which brings salvation, hath appeared to all men:’ and to let them know, that they have a day of salvation, grace, and favour of God offered unto them—if they receive it, it will be their blessing.”

At the governor’s house in Connie-oak bay, in Virginia, he met with a medical man, who denied that the Light, or Spirit of God, was given unto every one, and in proof affirmed, that the Indians were destitute of this inward monitor. G. Fox, therefore, called an Indian, and asked him, “Whether or no, when he did lie, or do wrong to any one, there was not something in him that did reprove him for it?” The

Indian replied, "There was such a thing in him, that did so reprove him, and he was ashamed when he had done wrong, or spoken wrong." "So," he says, "we ashamed the doctor before the governor and people, insomuch that the poor man ran out so far, that at length he would not own the scriptures." The following anecdote is so strikingly illustrative of this principle, that I may be excused its insertion here. Anthony Benezet, a Quaker teacher of Philadelphia, was told once by a pious Indian: "My brother, I was made sensible that my heart was hard and bad; under this sense, I cried to the Great Spirit who made the heart. The water ran long (some years,) from mine eyes, till at length I felt that my heart was changed: that it was become soft and good. I thought myself raised, as it were, above the world; that I was in such a disposition, that I loved every man, and could bear without anger any thing from any of my fellow-creatures, from a sense that any thing wrong in them, proceeded only from that same badness of heart I had so long groaned under."

George Fox now once more turned his face homewards, "having," as he says, "travelled through most parts of the country, and visited most of the plantations; having alarmed people of all sorts where we came, and proclaimed the day of God's salvation among them, we found our spirits began to be clear of these parts of the world, and to draw towards Old England."

Therefore, taking leave of his friends at a large general meeting in Maryland, he sailed for Bristol, on the 21st day of March, 1673.

In the first part of his homeward voyage, they were delayed by contrary winds for the space of ten days, and then clearing the capes of Virginia, and being once fairly launched upon the mighty deep, they met with no further impediments; but driving before a tempestuous gale and over a turbulent sea, they cast anchor in King's-road, Bristol, on the 28th day of April, just thirty days from land to land.

"We had in our passage," he relates, "very high winds and tempestuous weather, which made the sea exceedingly

rough, the waves rising like mountains, so that both master and sailors wondered, and said, they never saw the like before. But though the wind was strong, it set for the most part with us, so that we sailed before it; and the great God, who commands the winds, who is Lord of heaven, earth, and the seas, and whose wonders are seen in the deep, steered our course and preserved us from many imminent dangers. The same good hand of Providence which went with us and carried us safely over, watched over us on our return and brought us safely back again—thanksgiving and praises be to his holy name for ever!”

“During the passage, we had many precious meetings, mostly two in the week, wherein the blessed presence of the Lord did greatly comfort us, and did often break in upon and tendered the company.” While engaged in a meeting of this nature, after the arrival of their vessel at King’s-road, they were boarded by the press-master of a man-of-war, lying in that roadstead, who sat down quietly with the Quakers and the crew; and upon the breaking up of the meeting, expressed himself much satisfied with it. Upon the solicitation of George Fox, he relinquished two of the four men he had pressed, one of whom was lame.

CHAPTER XVII.

1673, 1674. Reproves some of his own followers—Apprehended at Tredington and committed to Worcester jail—His trials at the Worcester sessions and assizes—Sentenced to a premunire—Offered pardon by the king, but refuses his liberty upon this condition—Is acquitted by Sir Matthew Hale.

“Yea, and all that will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution. But evil men and seducers shall wax worse and worse, deceiving, and being deceived.”
2 Tim. iii. 12, 13.

Upon his landing at Bristol, he remained in that city for a short time, to be present at the great fair, where he expected to meet the celebrated William Penn, and many other Friends from London; he therefore wrote to his wife to join him there. After the great fair, he travelled up to London, passing leisurely through several counties, and holding great meetings as he proceeded. In Wiltshire, he was exercised to reprove a portion of his own followers, who had shown a disposition to discontinue the women’s meetings, which he had particularly recommended to be established, and had thereby caused a small disunion in the county. These particular and exclusive meetings for the women, he says, “he was moved of the Lord to recommend to Friends, for the benefit of the Church of Christ; that faithful women, called to the belief of the Truth, made partakers of the same everlasting gospel of life and salvation as the men are, might in like manner come into the possession and practice of the gospel-order, and therein be meet helps unto the men in the restoration, in the service of Truth, in the affairs of the church, as they are outwardly in civil and temporal things. That so all the family of God, women as well as men, might know, profess, perform, and discharge their offices and services in

the house of God, whereby the poor might be better taken care of, the younger sort instructed, informed, and taught in the way of God; the loose and disorderly reprov'd and admonish'd in the fear of the Lord; the clearness of persons proposing marriage, more closely and strictly inquired into in the wisdom of God; and all the members of the spiritual body, the church, might watch over and be helpful to each other in love."

Thus, after having patiently heard the opposing parties, and having satisfactorily answered and refuted their objections and cavils, he succeeded in re-establishing the women's meetings in that county.

The participation of the women of this Society, both in the civil and religious affairs of the church, forms another striking peculiarity of this religious persuasion: it elevates the female character nearly to the same level as that of the male, giving to it a much greater importance than is yielded by any other class of Christians since the days of the apostles; when the holy and inspired women both ministered and prophesied in the church. This peculiarity originated, like most of their other practices, with their founder, and continues in force up to the present day, with the full and perfect consent of the whole body.

After a very short stay in London, he, in company with his wife and some other branches of her family, paid a visit to William Penn at Rickmansworth, taking this visit on their road into the north. Upon leaving Rickmansworth, they continued their journey through Oxfordshire, visiting the different meetings of Friends as they proceeded; and at Tredington in Worcestershire, they attended a meeting of about two hundred persons, held in a barn belonging to John Halford, at whose house they were then staying. The meeting quietly dispersed, and G. Fox and several other Friends had retired into the house, when Henry Parker, a magistrate, and Rowland Hains, a clergyman, came to the place, and committed George Fox and Thomas Lower, his wife's son-in-law, to Worcester jail.

In this instance, the meeting having been dispersed before

the arrival of the justice, the committal was illegal, because the Conventicle Act gave no power for apprehension, unless the parties were found in the act of holding a meeting. But in the case of the Quakers, their persecutors never scrupled to infringe the law; for, relying upon their unflinching and open attestation against all oaths, they always had a sure snare for them when once brought into the presence of a magistrate, who was empowered to tender the test-oaths upon any occasion, and to enforce the full penalties attached to the refusal to take them.

These unjust proceedings, though sometimes resulting from a mistaken zeal, and from strong party feeling, were too often the result of malice and a bad persecuting spirit, which was clearly the case in this instance. George Fox having already had too much experience in these matters to expect a speedy deliverance, employed some Friend to escort his wife and daughter to their residence at Swarthmore; and shortly after wrote her the following letter:—

“DEAR HEART,

“Thou seemedst to be a little grieved when I was speaking of prisons, and when I was taken. Be content with the will of God. For when I was at John Rouse’s at Kingston, I had a foresight of my being taken prisoner; and when I was at Bray Doiley’s in Oxfordshire, as I sat at supper, I saw I was taken, and I saw I had a suffering to undergo. But the Lord’s power is over all; blessed be his holy name for ever!

“GEORGE FOX.”

From Worcester jail they drew up a joint statement of their case, which they sent to Lord Windsor, the Lieutenant of the county, stating that they were arrested on their travels, while on a visit at the house of their friend, John Halford; that when the magistrate came there, they were at no meeting, but were in the house discoursing together; that in his mittimus he complains “of several past meetings of many hundreds at a time,” of which, as they know nothing, that

matter did not concern them; that he farther complains, "that no satisfactory account of our settlement or place of habitation appeared to him," which he contradicts in his own mittimus, mentioning therein the places of their abode and habitation. It then goes on to state all the particulars of their being there, and the reasons why they were going into the north, and that in consequence of their imprisonment, G. Fox's wife and her daughter were deprived of their protection, and were forced to get strangers to help them on their journey, &c. They asked the priest, "Whether this was his gospel, and their way of entertaining strangers?" and the justice, "Whether this was doing as he would be done by?" &c., &c.

The application failed of procuring them any enlargement. Great interest, however, was made by the connexions of Thomas Lower for his release. His brother, Dr. Lower, as before stated, was one of the king's physicians, and was very intimate with the Hon. H. Savil, a gentleman of the king's bed-chamber, and brother to Lord Windsor; but as their interference only related to the liberation of Thomas Lower, he refused to avail himself of any advantage it might afford, and kept back the letter which might have procured his enlargement. Many of the bench were friendly disposed towards them, and disapproved of Parker's proceedings, and some even sent to advise them to speak but little in court, lest they should say any thing which might give umbrage to the bench, and that if they acted upon this advice, there was no doubt of their being discharged. Their hopes upon this point were, however, disappointed, for Parker showed such determined hostility in all his proceedings, and influenced so many of the bench to act with him, that, although their apprehension and commitment were both illegal, he succeeded in persecuting them by the infliction of a long imprisonment.

On the 21st day of November, 1673, the last day of the sessions, they were called into court. G. Fox says, "When we entered the court, the bench were struck with paleness in their faces, and it was so long before any thing was spoken, that a butcher in the hall, cried out, 'What! are they afraid?'

‘Dare not the justices speak to them?’” At last Parker began a long oration to the bench, charging the prisoners in general terms with breaking the common law, without defining any thing, or instancing any one law that they had broken, and stating that he thought it a milder course to send these two men to jail, than to put his neighbours to a loss of two hundred pounds, which they would have sustained had he enforced the act against conventicles. This statement he well knew to be false; for these men were not taken at any meeting, nor had he evidence by which he could have convicted either them or his neighbours, agreeably to the act.

Having ended his invidious speech, the bench began with the examination of Thomas Lower, asking him the cause of his coming into this part of the country, to which he gave them a full account. G. Fox, interposing a few words at this part of his companion’s examination, was stopped by the court, with a full assurance that he should have free liberty to say all that he wished upon his own examination, and that the magistrates would not insnare them. In his turn, the same queries were put to George Fox, who gave them a full account of his motives for coming through this country, one of which was to visit his aged mother, who had sent to say that she wished to see him again before her death; adding, “that Justice Parker, to aggravate the case, had made a great noise of there being some from London, some from the north, some from Cornwall, and some from Bristol, at the house when he was taken.” This was in a manner, all but one family; for there was none from London, but himself; none from the north, but his wife and her daughter; none from Cornwall, but his son-in-law, Thomas Lower; nor any from Bristol, but one Friend, a merchant there, who met them as it were providentially, to assist his wife and daughter in their journey homewards, when by their imprisonment they were deprived of their company and help.

The chairman of the sessions, Justice Simpson, an old Presbyterian, then said: “Your relation or account is very innocent.”

After exchanging whispers with Parker, the chairman

stood up and said, "You, Mr. Fox, are a famous man, and all this may be true which you have said; but that we may be the better satisfied, will you take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy?"

After acknowledging him to be a "famous man," and that his account was "very innocent," the chairman's old presbyterian leaven of persecution peeps out in the malice of this proposition, coming too from one who had himself sworn allegiance to all parties. For though his power was discretionary to put the oaths to any one, and whenever he thought fit, yet as the very nature of the oaths implied a suspicion of disloyalty and submission to the Pope—neither of which suspicions could be attached either to George Fox or to the Quakers, whose opinions on these subjects were at this time too well known to admit of any necessity of testing them by such oaths; they were put, therefore, as a handle for persecution, which the particulars of this trial fully prove, and at the same time present us with a repetition of the same disgraceful scenes that took place at the Lancaster trials in 1663—1664.

G. Fox replied to the above query, "Ye have said, 'that ye would not insnare us;' but this is a plain snare: for ye know we cannot take any oath."

The clerk read the oaths to the court.

G. Fox. "I never took an oath in my life, but have always been true to the government: I was cast into prison at Derby, and kept a prisoner there six months, because I would not take up arms against the late King Charles at Worcester fight; and for going to meetings, was carried out of Leicestershire, and brought before Oliver Cromwell, as a plotter to bring in the present King Charles. And ye know in your consciences, that we, the people called Quakers, cannot take an oath, nor swear in any case, because Christ hath forbidden it. But as to the matter or substance contained in the oaths, this I can do and say, that I do own and acknowledge the king of England to be lawful heir and successor to the realm of England, and do abhor all plots and plotters, and contrivances against him; and I have nothing in my heart, but love and good-will to him and to all men,

and desire his and their prosperity; the Lord knoweth it, before whom I stand an innocent man. And as to the oath of supremacy, I deny the pope, his power, and his religion, and abhor it with my heart."

Court. "Give him the book, give him the book."

G. Fox. "The book saith, 'Swear not at all.'"

Chairman and Justices. "Take him away, jailer."

G. Fox still continued his defence, and the bench became clamorous, and cried out, "Take him away; we shall have a meeting here. Why do ye not take him away? That fellow (the jailer) loves to hear him preach!" G. Fox (stretching out his arm,) "The Lord forgive you, who cast me into prison for obeying the doctrine of Christ." "Thus," he says, "they broke their promise in the face of the county; for they promised that I should have free liberty to speak, but now denied it; and they promised that they would not insnare us, yet now they tendered me the oaths on purpose to insnare me."

As soon as George Fox was removed, the court informed Thomas Lower that he was at liberty; but he began to reason with them upon the injustice of liberating him, at the same time they imprisoned his father under the same circumstances.

Chairman. "If you be not content, we will tender you the oaths also, and send you to your father."

T. Lower. "Ye may do so, if ye think fit; but whether ye send me to prison or not, I intend to go and wait upon my father there; for that is now my business in this country."

Justice Parker. "Do you think, Mr. Lower, that I had not cause to send your father and you to prison, when you had such a great meeting, that the parson of the parish complained to me that he had lost the greatest part of his parishioners; so that when he comes among them, he has scarcely any auditors left?"

T. Lower. "I have heard that the priest of that parish comes so seldom to visit his flock (but once, it may be, or twice in a year, to gather up his tithes) that it was but charity in my father to visit such a forlorn and forsaken flock; there-

fore, thou hast no occasion to send my father to prison for visiting them, or for teaching, instructing, and directing them to Christ their true Teacher, who had so little comfort or benefit from their pretended pastor, who comes among them only to seek for 'his gain from his quarter.' "

The justices laughed heartily at this exposure of Dr. Crowder, the priest in question, who was then sitting upon the bench, although unknown to Thomas Lower, and who had the good sense to remain silent and not undertake his vindication in a matter so notoriously true. As soon, however, as Thomas Lower had withdrawn, he felt so nettled at the raillery and jokes that assailed him on all sides, that he afterwards threatened T. Lower, to sue him in the bishop's court for defamation. The latter, upon hearing of the doctor's threats, sent him word, that he would answer his suit, let him begin it when he would, and that he would bring his whole parish in evidence against him. This reply in some measure cooled the doctor's desire for legal redress, but was not sufficient to keep him altogether quiet; for, going one day to the jail, in order to convince George Fox that Christ had not forbidden swearing before a magistrate, George Fox asked him to prove his assertion out of the Scriptures; whereupon he instanced that saying of St. Paul, "All things are lawful unto me."—1 Cor. vi. 12. "And if all things were lawful unto him, then swearing was lawful unto him." "By this argument," said G. Fox, "thou mayest also affirm that drunkenness, adultery, and all manner of sin and wickedness is lawful also, as well as swearing." "Why," said the doctor, "do you hold that adultery is unlawful?" "Yes," said G. Fox, "that I do." "Why, then," said the doctor, "this contradicts the saying of St. Paul." G. Fox, therefore, called the attention of the jailer and others present to the strange doctrine advanced by Dr. Crowder as orthodox, viz., "that drunkenness, swearing, adultery, and such like things, were lawful." The doctor replied, "that he would give it under his hand," and immediately took a pen; but what he then wrote was very different to the assertion he had just made.

Very soon after the sessions, some of the Friends in London procured a writ of habeas corpus to remove him out of the jurisdiction of the Worcester magistrates. By this summons he was brought into the Court of King's Bench in London, before Judge Wild, and upon the return of the writ, was called into court the next day. The king's attorney, Jones, and another counsellor after him, spoke ably in his defence; "the three judges also," he says, "behaved very moderately, and refrained from casting any reflecting words upon me." As soon as the cause had been fully stated, he obtained permission to speak, and then related the cause of their journey, the manner of their being taken, and committed, and time they had already lain in prison. He also related what declaration he had offered to make to the justices respecting the oath of allegiance and supremacy, which he would willingly sign. After being fully heard, he was informed by the court, that he was no longer in the jurisdiction of the sheriff of Worcester, but of the King's Bench. He was then delivered to the custody of an officer of that court, who gave him liberty to go to a friend's house in the city, where he lodged that night, and the next morning, at the appointed hour, surrendered himself punctually to the same officer.

As a proof of the malicious purpose of Parker and some other of the Worcester magistrates, they followed him to town, and moved the court by four counsellors, that he might be remanded to their jurisdiction, alleging that he was a mischievous plotter and a dangerous character; and even ascribed his son's act of filial duty (in remaining to attend upon his father, in jail after his own liberation) to the base motive of carrying on some secret design. In consequence of these pleadings, the judges gave judgment, "that he should be sent down to Worcester sessions:" but informed the prisoner that he might put in bail for his appearance, and for his good behaviour in the mean time.

G. Fox. "I never was of ill behaviour in my life; and you, the four judges, might as well put the oath to me here, as to send me to Worcester sessions to be insnared by the

magistrates, in putting the oath to me, and sentencing me to a premunire, who never took an oath in my life. If I shall break my yea or nay, I am content to suffer the same penalty as those who break their oaths.”

Considering himself to be quite innocent of any breach of the law, and to be illegally committed and unjustly detained, he refused to give any bail. The judges therefore permitted this very dangerous man and mischievous plotter to go at large, as had been repeatedly done before, under similar circumstances, resting quite satisfied, that, upon his bare word, they might fully rely upon his punctual surrender of himself. He was permitted to go down to Worcester at his own leisure, thus giving the lie to their own judgments, and offering another striking repetition of the inconsistency of men's actions, when blinded by party feeling; more especially when that party feeling happens to be on the subject of religious prejudices.

1674. On the 31st of January, George Fox surrendered himself at Worcester, and having obtained information, that Justice Parker and the clerk of the peace, had agreed purposely to omit his name in the calendar, in order that, by not being called before the judge, he might lie in prison till the next sessions. He consequently employed the judge's son, who was a counsellor, to move in court for his appearance; and upon entering the court, once more found himself in the presence of his old adversary, Judge Turner, who on a former occasion had tendered him the oath, and had premunired him at Lancaster.

Judge. “What is your desire, George Fox?”

G. Fox. “My liberty, according to justice.”

Judge. “You lay upon oath; will you take it?”

G. Fox requested that he would hear the manner of his being taken and committed, and then gave him a full account of all the circumstances the same as before stated, adding also these words: “Since my imprisonment, I have been informed that my mother, who was an ancient tender woman, had desired to see me before her death, hearing that I was stopped and imprisoned on my journey, so that I was

not likely to come and see her, it struck her so, that she died soon after, which is a very hard thing to me."

Judge. "Will you take the oaths?"

G. Fox. "I cannot take any oath for conscience' sake; and I do believe, that thou and all of you know, in your consciences, that it is for conscience' sake I cannot swear at all." He then declared what he would say and sign, "in owning the king's right to the government, and in denying the pope and his pretended power, and all plotters, plots and conspiracies against the government."

It appeared that Judge Turner was disposed to have given him his liberty, but was stirred up against it by the misrepresentations of Parker; and wishing to rid himself of so troublesome an affair, in which he had already had some experience, he referred his case to the sessions, desiring the magistrates would make an end of it there, and not trouble the assizes with it any more.

George Fox must have remained a prisoner till the next sessions, through the malignity of Parker, had not the friendly interference of some of the bench procured him the liberty of the city, and allowed him to lodge at a Friend's house till the approach of the session.

During this interval, he tells us, "I had some service for the Lord, with several that came to visit me. At one time, there came three nonconformist priests, and two lawyers, to discourse with me; one of the priests undertaking to prove, 'That the Scriptures are the only rule of life.' After I had defeated this proof, I had a fit opportunity to open to them the right and proper use, service, and excellency of the Scriptures; and to show, that the Spirit of God, which was given to every one to profit withal, the grace of God which bringeth salvation, and which hath appeared to all men, and teacheth them that obey it, to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, righteously, and godly in the present world; that this, I say, is the most fit, proper, and universal rule, that God hath given to all mankind, by which to rule, direct, govern, and order their lives."

This doctrine of the "Inward Light," which forms the

foundation-stone and important feature of Quakerism, is based upon the broadest principle of Christianity, that Christ came to save all men by his death, Gentiles as well as Jews; for, as St. Peter says, "God is no respecter of persons; but in every nation he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him."—Acts x. 35. It is the universal principle of the gospel, and the bond of unity of all Christians; it is the centre from which all sectarian differences diverge, and it is the common point of their re-union; it is the grand rule of faith and doctrine, and if a man does but feel and admit this principle, it is of little importance whether he enters a church as an evangelist or as a Puseyite; for this principle, since it is the grace of God and cannot err, must lead all Christians into love and unity, and teach them to regard, with charitable allowance, that bias of opinion and fallibility of judgment to which we are all prone. All sticklers for forms, ceremonies, and superstitions, are, as George Fox truly says, only "sect-makers," who are striving to impose *the yoke of their law* upon the freedom of the gospel.

If the Scriptures are the only rule of life, what principle is it that enables the heathen to distinguish between good and evil, who may never have heard of, or seen the Scriptures? St. Paul says, "For when the Gentiles, which have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, these, having not the law, are a law unto themselves: which show the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience bearing witness, and their thoughts in the meanwhile accusing or else excusing one another."—Rom. ii. 14, 15. By which we are to understand, that this law of God, which is written in the hearts of all mankind, is an efficient rule of itself, when its dictates are faithfully obeyed, to lead from evil to good, to sanctify the heart, and to prepare it for the full reception and comprehension of the revealed will of God, given us through the Scriptures.

"Christianity is a new creation," says Luther; "it seizes on the inward man, and transforms it so, that man has no longer need that other men should impose rules upon him; but aided by God's grace, he can of himself and by himself,

recognise what is true, and do what is good.”* Thus was this principle admitted by the early reformers.

The doctrine of perfection, or freedom from sin through the sanctifying blood of Christ Jesus, the attainment of which, the Quakers maintained, was the duty of all Christians to strive for, was also a subject of continual discussion between them and other professions. The following discourse upon this point, took place between G. Fox and a clergyman of the establishment.

He asked G. Fox. “If he was grown up to perfection?”

G. Fox. “What I am, I am by the grace of God.”

Priest. “It is a modest and civil answer. But, ‘If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.’”

G. Fox. “The same apostle says, ‘If we say that we have not sinned, we make him a liar, and his word is not in us.’ Who came to destroy sin, and take away sin. So there is a time for them to confess their sin, and to forsake it, and to know the blood of Christ to cleanse from all sin.”

Priest. “Was Adam perfect before he fell? and were not all God’s works perfect?”

G. Fox. “There might be a perfection as Adam had, and a falling from it. But there is a perfection in Christ above Adam and beyond falling; and it is the work of the ministers of Christ to present every man perfect in Christ; for the perfecting of whom, they had their gifts from Christ; therefore, they that deny perfection deny the work of the ministry, and the gifts which Christ gave for the perfecting of the saints.”

Priest. “We must always be striving.”

G. Fox. “It is a sad and comfortless striving, to strive with a belief that we shall never overcome. Paul, who cried out of the body of death, did also ‘thank God, who gave him the victory through the Lord Jesus Christ.’ So there is a time of crying out for want of victory, and a time of praising

* D’Aubigné’s Reformation, vol. iii. book x. chap. ix. p. 318.

God for the victory. Paul further said, 'There is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus.' "

Priest. "Job was not perfect."

G. Fox. "God said, 'Job was a perfect man, and that he did shun evil;' and the devil was forced to confess, that 'God had set a hedge about him;' which was not an outward hedge, but the invisible, heavenly power."

Priest. "Job said, 'He chargeth his angels with folly, and the heavens are not clean in his sight.' "

G. Fox. "That is a mistake, it was not Job that said so, but Eliphaz who contended against Job."

Priest. "Well, what say you to that scripture, 'The justest man that is, sinneth seven times a day.' "

G. Fox. "Why, truly, there is no such scripture." And with that the priest's mouth was stopped.

The quarter sessions began on the 29th of February, and the chairman, Justice Street, followed in Parker's track by misrepresenting the facts of the case to the court. He endeavoured to excite a feeling of alarm about the large meeting held at Tredington, consisting, as he said, of people from all parts of the nation, and to the terrifying of the king's subjects, &c., &c., being much the same kind of statement as had been before made by the former chairman, Simpson.

G. Fox having obtained permission to speak, and having shown, as he did on the former examination, that the people from all parts of the nation, with the exception of one person from Bristol, were only a few members of his own family, added, "And we did not meet in any way or manner that could occasion terror to any of the king's subjects, for we met peaceably and quietly, without arms; and I do not believe you can produce any one, who could say he was terrified with our meeting. As to the oaths, I have already shown why I cannot take them, and also what I am willing to say or sign in lieu of them."

The oaths were then read up in court, and afterwards the indictment was read to the jury, who were already sworn.

Chairman. "Are you guilty, George Fox?"

G. Fox. "Nay; for it is a great bundle of lies. Dost

thou not know in thy conscience that the statements in the indictment are lies?"

Chairman. "It is our form."

G. Fox. "It is not a true form, then."

Chairman. "Are you guilty?"

G. Fox. Nay, I am not guilty of the matter, nor of the form; for I am against the pope and popery, and do acknowledge and will set my hand to that."

The chairman then instructed the jury what they should say and do, and what they should write on the back of the indictment.

G. Fox, to the jury. "It is for Christ's sake, and in obedience to his and his apostles' command, that I cannot swear; therefore, take heed what ye do, for before his judgment-seat shall ye all be brought."

Chairman. "This is canting"

G. Fox. "If to confess Christ our Lord and Saviour, and to obey his command, be called canting by a judge of a court, it is to little purpose for me to say more among you; yet ye shall see that I am a Christian, and will show forth Christianity, and my innocency shall be manifest."

The character of George Fox had now been so long before the public in various shapes creditable to himself, that his case at Worcester excited a strong sensation on his behalf, which upon this occasion was shown by the silence and respectful behaviour of the court, at the end of this examination; many of the magistrates, and all the by-standers, evincing a deep interest, on account of his known integrity, and his many persecutions. "The people," he says, "were generally tender, as if they had been in a meeting." Some of the justices wished that the persecution might be stopped here, and that he might be liberated; protesting, that they were satisfied he was not the dangerous character represented by his persecutors. Parker, in order to pacify this feeling, seemed to assent to it, and promised these magistrates that the thing should be done, and that he would apply to the king for a "*noli prosequi*," which, however, he never did, nor ever intended to do.

He was again called into court, and the jury found a verdict against him, which he traversed. He was then required to put in bail for his appearance at the next sessions, but this he refused on the same grounds of objection that he had formerly alleged at the court of King's Bench in London. Although it was opposed to the wish of many upon the bench, the chairman sent him to jail, and would have kept him there had it not been for the interference of the moderate magistrates, who liberated him two hours afterwards, upon his own bare promise to appear when called upon.

As soon as he could procure a copy of his own indictment, he went up to London, where he was again brought into the court of King's Bench, by an "habeas corpus," chiefly owing to the zeal of his London friends, who left no means untried to snatch him out of the clutches of his Worcester enemies. But as his case had proceeded so far at Worcester, the London court refused to interfere, and left him to appear there again. He remained in London to attend the great annual meeting of the Society, held that year in the spring, and at its close went down to Worcester, to surrender himself at the ensuing sessions in May.

Being called to the bar, and the indictment being read, some scruple arose among the jury concerning it; when the chairman, Justice Street, immediately ordered the oaths to be read and tendered to him again."

G. Fox. "I come now to try the traverse of my indictment; and thy tendering me the oaths anew, is a new snare. I request to know whether the oaths are to be tendered to the king's subjects, or to the subjects of foreign princes?"

Chairman. "To the subjects of this realm."

G. Fox. "Then, you have not named me a subject in the indictment, and therefore have not brought me within the statute."

Chairman, (erying out.) "Read the oath to him!"

G. Fox. "I require justice; and again I wish to know whether the sessions ought not to have been holden for the king, and the body of the county?"

Chairman. "Yes."

G. Fox. "Then you have left the king out of the indictment; how then can you proceed upon this indictment, to a trial between the king and me, seeing the king is left out?"

Chairman. "The king was in before."

G. Fox. "But the king's name being left out here, is a great error in the indictment, and sufficient, as I am informed, to quash it. Besides, I was committed by the name of George Fox of London; but now I am indicted by the name of George Fox of Tredington, in the county of Worcester. I therefore wish the jury to consider, how they can find me guilty upon that indictment, seeing I am not of the place the indictment mentions?"

Chairman. "There certainly are errors in the indictment; but you may take your remedy in its proper place."

G. Fox. "You know that we are a people that suffer all things, and bear all things; and therefore ye use us thus, because we cannot revenge ourselves; but we leave our cause to the Lord."

Chairman. "The oath hath been tendered to you several times, and we will have some satisfaction from you concerning the oath."

G. Fox. "I offer the same declaration instead of the oath, which I have offered to the judges before. But seeing ye put the oath anew to me, I desire to know, whether the indictment is quashed or not?"

Chairman, not regarding this question, told the jury, "They might go out." Some of them expressed themselves dissatisfied, and the judge told them, "They had heard a man swear that the oath was tendered to him the last sessions;" and he directed them how they should find.

G. Fox. "Thou shouldest leave the jury to their own consciences." After they had found a verdict of "Guilty," G. Fox said to them, "'How can ye satisfy yourselves to find me guilty upon that indictment, which is laid so false, and has so many errors in it?' They could make but little answer," he says; "yet one, who seemed to be the worst of them, would have taken me by the hand: but I put him by, saying, 'How now, Judas, hast thou betrayed me, and dost thou now

come with a kiss?" So I bid both him and the rest repent."

Chairman. "I wish you to consider, Mr. Fox, how favourable the court has been to you."

G. Fox. "How canst thou say so? Was ever a man worse dealt by, than I have been in this case, who was stopped in my journey, when travelling upon my lawful occasions, and imprisoned without a cause; and now have had oaths put to me only for a snare? I desire thou wouldest answer me in the presence of the Lord, in whose presence we all are, whether this oath is not tendered to me in envy?"

Chairman. "Would you had never come here, to trouble us and the county."

G. Fox. "I came not hither of myself, but was brought, being stopped in my journey. I have not troubled you, but ye have brought trouble upon yourselves."

Chairman. "Well, the sentence which I have to pass is a very sad one."

G. Fox. "I wish to know, whether what thou art going to say is by way of passing sentence, or for information; for I have many things to say, and more errors to assign in the indictment, besides those I have already mentioned, to stop thee from giving sentence against me upon that indictment."

Chairman. "I am going to show you the danger of a pre-munire, which is loss of your liberty, and of all your goods and chattels, and to suffer imprisonment during life. But I do not deliver this as the sentence of the court upon you, but as an admonition. Take him away, jailer."

"I expected to have been called again to hear sentence, but when I was gone out of the court, the clerk of the peace, (whose name was Twitty,) asked the chairman, as I was informed, whether that which he had spoken to me should stand for sentence? And he consulting with some of the justices, told him, 'Yes, that was the sentence, and should stand.' This was done behind my back, to save himself from shame in the face of the county. Many of the justices, and the generality of the people, were moderate and civil; and John Ashley, a lawyer, was friendly to me, both the time before and now, speaking on my behalf, and pleading the

errors of the indictment for me; but Justice Street, the judge of the court, would not regard them, but overruled all. The latter told some of my friends the morning before the trial, 'that if he had been on the bench the first sessions, he would not have tendered me the oath; but if I had been convicted of being at a conventicle, he would have proceeded against me according to law; and he was sorry that I ever came before him.' Yet he maliciously tendered the oath to me in the court again, when I was to have tried my traverse upon the indictment. But the Lord pleaded my cause, and met both with him and Justice Simpson, who insnared me with the oath the first sessions; for Simpson's son was arraigned not long after, at the same bar for murder. And Street, who, as he came down from London, after the judges had returned me back from the King's Bench to Worcester, said, 'Now I was returned to them, I should lie in prison and rot,' had his daughter, whom he so doted on, that she was called his idol, brought dead from London in a hearse to the same inn where he had spoken these words. People took much notice of the hand of God, how suddenly it was upon him; but it rather hardened than tendered him, as his carriage afterwards showed."

"After I was returned to prison, several came to see me; and among others, the Earl of Salisbury's son, who was very loving, and troubled that they had dealt so wickedly by me. He stayed about two hours with me, and took a copy of the errors in the indictment in writing."

As he was now fixed in jail by a premunire, his wife came up from the north to be with him, and her services became very essential; for he was attacked by a severe illness, and reduced to so low an ebb, that his recovery was for some time despaired of by his friends, who took every possible measure to obtain his enlargement, which now became more necessary on account of his health. In consequence of their exertions, the king offered him a free pardon, which he declined accepting, because he could not do it without derogating from the innocence of his cause. On account of his severe illness, Parker was at length induced to order him some indulgences.

No other way offering for his release but the king's free pardon, of which he did not choose to avail himself; his wife determined to try the effect of another personal interview with the king, and repaired to the court, where she explained to his Majesty all the particulars of his case, and that, as by the sentence of premunire, he was now the king's prisoner, she hoped he would be graciously pleased to command his release. The king listened attentively to her statement, and speaking kindly to her, referred her to the lord keeper, who said that the king could not release except by a pardon. But this favour he might have had long before, had he been free to accept of it; and the king had observed to Thomas Moore, who had interceded for him on the former occasion, "That he (G. Fox) need not scruple being released by a pardon, for many a man, that was innocent as a child, had had a pardon granted him." But as George Fox "had rather have laid in prison all his days, than have come out in any way dishonourable to truth, he chose to have the validity of his indictment tried before the judges." He employed as counsel, Thomas Corbett, a man of superior intelligence, who took so original a view of his sentence, as to overthrow the generally received opinions on the nature of a premunire.

He was once more brought up to the King's Bench bar by a "habeas corpus." "The under-sheriff," he says, "set forward with me the 4th of the twelfth month, (December) there being also in the coach the clerk of the peace, and some others. The clerk had been my enemy all along, and now sought to insnare me in discourse; but I saw and shunned him. He asked me, 'What I would do with the errors of the indictment?' I told him, 'they should be tried, and every action should crown itself.' He also quarrelled with me for calling their ministers priests. I asked him, 'If the law did not call them so?' He then asked, 'What I thought of the Church of England? were there no Christians among them?' I said, 'They are all called so, and there are many tender people among them.'"

"They arrived in London, the 8th of the same month,

and on the 11th day, I was brought before the four judges at the King's Bench, where Counsellor Corbett started a new plea. He told the judges, 'they could not imprison any man upon a premunire.' Whereupon the chief justice, Sir Matthew Hale, said, 'Mr. Corbett, you should have come sooner, at the beginning of the term, with this plea.' He answered, 'We could not get a copy of the return and the indictment.' The judge replied, 'You should have told us, and we would have forced them to have made a return sooner.' Then said Judge Wild, 'Mr. Corbett, you go upon general terms; and if it be so, as you say, we have committed many errors at the Old Bailey, and in other courts.' Mr. Corbett was positive that by law they could not imprison upon a premunire. The chief judge said, 'There is summons in the statute.' 'Yes,' said Corbett, 'but summons is not imprisonment, for summons is in order to a trial.' 'Well,' said the judge, 'we must have time to look in our books, and consult the statutes.' So the hearing was put off till the next day."

"The next day the judges chose to waive this plea, and begin with the errors of the indictment; and when they came to be opened, they were so many and gross, that the judges were all of opinion that the indictment was quashed and void, and that I ought to have my liberty. There were that day several great men, lords and others, who had the oaths of allegiance and supremacy tendered to them in open court, just before my trial came on; and some of my adversaries moved the judges that the oaths might be tendered to me, telling them, 'I was a dangerous man to be at liberty.' But Sir Matthew Hale said, 'he had indeed heard some such reports, but he had also heard many more good reports of me;' so he, with the rest of the judges, ordered me to be freed by proclamation. Thus, after I had suffered imprisonment a year and almost two months for nothing, I was fully set at liberty upon a trial of the errors of my indictment, without receiving any pardon, or coming under any obligation or engagement whatsoever, and the Lord's everlasting power went over all, to his glory and praise. Counsellor Corbett acquired great fame by it; for many of the lawyers

told him, 'He had brought that to light, which had not been known before, as to not imprisoning upon a *prémunire*.' After the trial, one of the judges said to him, 'You have obtained a great deal of honour by pleading George Fox's cause in court.'"

Besides suffering from a variety of other vexatious arrests, this was the fifth long imprisonment, endured under circumstances of cruel and aggravated hardships, which befell this truly loyal and peaceable subject; who was stigmatized, in turns, by all parties, as a mischievous character, a plotter against the state, and a misleader of the people; to which unjust charges his whole life gave a full contradiction. The real sum of his offending was, that he had undauntedly denounced priestcraft in all its forms, and had preached the necessity of a pure and holy life, and had insisted upon a self-denial and renouncement of the world, far from agreeable to the practice of the worldly-minded and self-interested preachers of all other contending churches, who, dreading the prevalence of such opinions, and their consequent exposure, became naturally his persecutors and oppressors.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1675—1677. Publishes a declaration—Writes to the king—Retires to Swarthmore—Travels into Holland—His letter to the Princess Elizabeth of Herwerden in Suabia—His letter to the King of Poland on religious persecution.

“Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world. If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him. For all that is in the world, the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but is of the world. And the world passeth away, and the lust thereof: but he that doeth the will of God abideth for ever.”—1 John ii. 15—17.

His declaration to the judges respecting the oath of allegiance and supremacy, to which we have alluded several times in the foregoing chapter, is as follows:—

“This I do in the truth, and in the presence of God declare, that King Charles the Second is lawful king of this realm, and of all other, his dominions; that he was brought in, and set up king over this realm by the power of God: and I have nothing but love and good-will to him and all his subjects, and desire his prosperity and eternal good. I do utterly abhor and deny the pope’s power and supremacy, and all his superstitious and idolatrous inventions; and do affirm, that he hath no power to absolve sin. I do abhor and detest the murdering of princes or other people, by plots and contrivances. And, likewise, I do deny all plots and contrivances, and plotters and contrivers against the king and his subjects; knowing them to be the works of darkness, the fruits of an evil spirit, against the peace of the kingdom, and not from the Spirit of God, the fruit of which is love. I dare not take an oath, because it is forbidden by Christ and the apostle; but if I break my yea or nay, let me suffer the same penalty as they that break their oaths.

“GEORGE FOX.”

During the time of his imprisonment at Worcester, notwithstanding the interruptions of illness, and his frequent hurried journeys to London, his pen was employed upon the following works:—"A Warning to England." "To the Jews, proving by the prophets, that the Messiah is come." "Concerning Inspiration, Revelation, and Prophecy." "Against all Vain Disputes." "For all Bishops and Ministers to try themselves by the Scriptures." "To such as say, 'We love none but ourselves.'" "Our Testimony concerning Christ." "Concerning Swearing."

Besides these, he wrote also an epistle to the king, stating the principles of Quakerism, which, he says, "was not written with particular relation to my own sufferings, but for the better information concerning our principles, as a people."

"TO THE KING.

"The principles of the Quakers is the Spirit of Christ, who died for us, and is risen for our justification; by which we know we are his. He dwelleth in us by his Spirit, and by it we are led out of unrighteousness and ungodliness. It brings us to deny all plottings or contrivings against the king or any man. The Spirit of Christ brings us to deny all manner of ungodliness, and the devil and his works. It brings us to seek the peace and good of all men, and to live peaceably, and leads us from such evil actions as the magistrate's sword takes hold upon.

"Our desire and labour is, that all who profess themselves Christians, may walk in this Spirit, that through it they may mortify the deeds of the flesh, and by its sword may cut down sin and evil in themselves," &c.

"That Spirit, which leads people from all manner of sin and evil, is one with the magistrate's power and with the righteous law; for the law being added because of transgression, that Spirit which leads out of transgression, must needs be one with that law which is against transgressors. So that Spirit which leads out of transgression, is the good Spirit of Christ, and is one with the magistrate's in the higher power, and owns it and them: but that spirit which leads into trans-

gression, is the bad spirit, is against the law, against the magistrates, and makes them a great deal of troublesome work. Now the manifestation of the good Spirit is given to every man to profit withal; and no man can profit in the things of God, but by the Spirit of God, which brings to deny all evil and sin. It is said of Israel, Nehem. ix., 'The Lord gave them his good Spirit to instruct them, yet they rebelled against it,' &c.

"We are a people, who, in tenderness of conscience to the command of Christ and his apostle, cannot swear; for we are commanded in Matt. v. and James v., to keep to yea and nay, and not swear at all: neither by heaven, nor by the earth, nor by any other oath, lest we go into evil, and fall into condemnation. The words of Christ are these: 'Ye have heard that it hath been said by (or to) them of old time, thou shalt not forswear thyself, but shalt perform unto the Lord thine oaths.' These were true and solemn oaths, which they who made, ought to have performed in old time: but these Christ and his apostles forbid in the gospel times, as well as false and vain oaths. If we could take any oath at all, we would take the oath of allegiance, as knowing that King Charles was by the power of God brought into England, and set up king of England, &c., over the heads of our old persecutors; and as for the pope's supremacy, we do utterly deny it. But Christ and the apostles having commanded us not to swear, but to keep to yea and nay, we dare not break their commands; and therefore many have put the oath to us as a snare, that they might make prey of us. Our denying to swear is not in wilfulness, stubbornness, or contempt, but only in obedience to the command of Christ and the apostle; and we are content, if we break our yea and nay, to suffer the same penalty that they should who break their oaths. We desire, therefore, that the king would take this into consideration, and also how long we have suffered in this case. This is from one who desires the eternal good and prosperity of the king, and all his subjects in the Lord Jesus Christ.

"GEORGE FOX."

1675. George Fox took up his abode in London till after the yearly assembly of the Quakers, held this year in London, in the month of April, and then, in company with his wife and his daughter-in-law, Susan, went down to his wife's estate at Swarthmore in Lancashire, travelling by easy stages, and in a coach, on account of the debilitated state in which his illness at Worcester had left him. Here he quietly remained for the space of one year and nine months, to recruit his health and strength, already exhausted by great toils, inclement exposures, cruel imprisonments, and severe illness. During this period of cessation from bodily labours, his active mind was not suffered to remain idle; for the intervals of leisure, when he was disengaged from visitors, were employed in preparing the following works for the press, some of which were books and others only pamphlets.

1. "Concerning Swearing."

2. "None are successors of the prophets and apostles, but who succeed them in the same power and Holy Ghost that they were in."

3. "Possession is above Profession; for professors now do persecute Christ in Spirit, as the professing Jews did persecute him outwardly in the days of his flesh."

4. "To the Magistrates of Dantzic."

5. "Cain against Abel; or an answer to the New England-man's laws."

6. "To Friends at Nevis, concerning Watching."

7. "A general Epistle to all Friends in America."

8. "Concerning Cæsar's due, and God's due."

9. "Concerning the Ordering of Families."

10. "The Spiritual Man judgeth all things."

11. "Concerning the Higher Power."

Besides these works, he wrote many epistles to different bodies of Friends, and a long one to the "Yearly Meeting," held in London, in 1676. He also collected and arranged all his various papers and official documents, relating to the different occurrences in which he had been engaged.

While he remained at Swarthmore, died William Lampit, the incumbent of Ulverstone, the parish in which Swarth-

more lies. G. Fox says of him, "He was an old deceiver, and perverter of the right way of the Lord, and a persecutor of the people of God. Much contest I had with him when I came into these parts. He had been an old false prophet; for in the year 1652, he prophesied, and said he would wage his life upon it, 'that the Quakers would all vanish and come to naught within half a year:' but he came to naught himself. For he continued in his false accusing of God's people till a little before he died, and then cried for a little rest.

"To one of his hearers, that came to visit him before he died, he said, 'I have been a preacher a long time, and thought I had lived well; but I did not think it had been so hard a thing to die.' "

1677. On the 26th day of January in this year, George Fox left Swarthmore for the southern counties; but as he was still labouring under the effects of his late sufferings at Worcester, he was obliged to proceed with caution, and travelled by short stages, through the greater part of Yorkshire and the midland counties, holding public and private meetings in his way to London. Upon his arrival in the metropolis, he assisted in the preparation of a remonstrance to the parliament from the Quakers, complaining that a third part of the estates of many members of their Society had been seized, upon the false plea of their being popish recusants.

This statement of their grievances failed in procuring them any redress. He also was present at the annual meeting of the Society, and at its conclusion, visited William Penn, at his house at Worminghurst, in Sussex, where he remained for several weeks. Afterwards, in company with William Penn, Robert Barclay, the author of the celebrated *Apology*, George Keith, and several other Friends, he set out for Holland, and sailed from Harwich the latter end of May. George Keith was a man of ready wit, and great parts, but of an impetuous temper. Before his conviction, he had been bred a Presbyterian, and had taken his degree of Master of Arts, at one of the Universities. Some years after this occurrence, he was led away by the notions of Francis Mercurius on the "Transmigration of the Soul;" and being re-

proved for the novel opinions which he then broached, he took offence, left the Quakers, and after stigmatizing the very doctrine he had once so ably defended with his pen, he entered the Episcopal church, as a tool to decry and abuse the Society from which he had apostatized. In 1702, about eleven years after the death of George Fox, he was sent over to America, to make proselytes and sow discord among the Quakers of Pennsylvania; but finding himself either received with suspicion, or shunned as an apostate, he soon returned to England, where he was rewarded with the living of Ed-burton in Essex, of the annual value of £120.

This travelling party was composed chiefly, if not entirely, of approved ministers of the Society, who, upon their landing, dispersed themselves in various routes: Wm. Penn proceeding with one part into some of the German states, while George Fox and a few others, visited the different meetings in Holland, Friesland, Bremen, Embden, Hambro', Holstien, and returned back through Oldenburgh to Amsterdam. This journey was attended with much inconvenience and fatigue, from their being mostly obliged to travel in open wagons, (in some places the only sort of conveyance to be met with,) exposed to the weather, which at this season was so remarkably wet, that their clothes were often saturated for the space of three days together. In general, he was well received, respectfully treated, and attentively listened to, though in some places, he complains of a great darkness as to religious knowledge. "Many times," he says, "in mornings, and at noons and nights, at the inns, and on my ways, as I travelled, I spoke to the people, preaching the truth to them, warning them of the day of the Lord, and exhorting them to turn to the light and Spirit of God in themselves, that thereby they might be led out of evil." At Embden, the tide of public opinion had set so strongly against the Quakers, that they were banished from the city, their goods were confiscated, and a fine was imposed upon any inhabitant, for letting his house to any member of this persuasion.

While he was at Amsterdam, a solemn fast was proclaimed, which chanced to be held on the same day of the week as

that set apart by the Quakers for their usual meeting; and upon this occasion, their meeting-house was much crowded by strangers. George Fox says, "I was moved to declare, that no man by his wit and study, nor by reading history in his own will, could declare or know the generation of Christ, who was not begotten by the will of man, but by the will of God. After I had largely opened this doctrine, I showed them the difference between the true fast and the false, manifesting that professed Christians, Jews, and Turks, were out of the true fast, and fasted for strife and debate, being under the band and fists of iniquity and oppression, wherewith they were smiting one another; but the pure hands were not lifted up to God. And though they did all appear to men to fast, and did hang down their heads for a day, like a bulrush, yet that was not the fast which God did accept; but in that state all their bones were dry, and when they called upon the Lord, He did not answer them, neither did their health grow; for they kept their own fasts and not the Lord's. I exhorted them to keep the Lord's fast, which was to fast from sin and iniquity, strife and debate, violence and oppression, and to abstain from every appearance of evil. These things were opened to the astonishment of fasters, and the meeting ended peaceably and well."

The day following, he held a large meeting at Haarlem, addressing the congregation (which was composed of many persuasions,) for several hours; and at the close, a Lutheran priest stood up, and said, "He had heard nothing but what was according to the word of God, and desired the blessing of the Lord might rest upon the Quakers and their assemblies." Several others also acknowledged their unity with his preaching, saying, "They had never heard things so plainly opened to their understandings before."

Two German priests of some note, being at Haarlem, requested a conference, "in which," he says, "I took the opportunity to declare the way of truth, opening unto them how they might come to know God and Christ, and his law and gospel; and showing them, that they could never know it by study, nor philosophy, but by divine revelation through

the Spirit of God, opening to them in the stillness of their minds. The men were tender, and went away well satisfied."

At a large meeting at Harlingen, he expounded the happy state of Adam and Eve in Paradise, whilst they kept God's commands; and the wo and misery that befell them, when they left those commands to follow the teachings of the serpent; and concluded, by pointing out how fallen man might regain that happy state. The priest of the place, "an ancient, grave man," rose up when he had concluded, and putting off his hat, said, "I pray God to prosper and confirm that doctrine; for it is truth, and I have nothing against it." He then left the meeting to attend the service of his own congregation, which he shortened a half hour, in order that he might return and hear more from George Fox; but when he came the meeting was dispersed.

During his stay at Amsterdam, he wrote the following addresses and epistles, "as the Lord moved him by his Spirit thereunto:" "A Warning to the Inhabitants of the City of Oldenburgh," lately destroyed by fire. "A Warning to the City of Hamburgh." "An Epistle to the Ambassadors then in treaty for Peace at Nimeguen." "An Epistle to the Magistrates of Embden." He wrote also several books in answer to misrepresentations spread abroad by some priests and other inhabitants of Hamburgh, "to clear Truth and Friends from false charges and slanders." He wrote also the following letter to the Princess Elizabeth of Herwerden, in Suabia. This lady was hereditary sovereign of the imperial and free town of Herwerden, or Herforden, in Southern Germany, and was so much esteemed for her exemplary virtue and piety, that "these qualities added more lustre to her name than her exalted rank." She governed her small territory so well, that she was much beloved by all her people. Several Quakers had, at different times, been received by her with much courtesy, and William Penn says of her: "Her meekness and humility appeared to me extraordinary; she did not consider the quality, but the merit of the people she entertained. She was abstemious in her living, and in apparel

void of all vain ornaments. I must needs say that her mind had a noble prospect: her eye was to a better and a more lasting inheritance than can be found below; which made her not overrate the honours of her station. I cannot forget her last words, when I took my leave of her:—‘Let me desire you to remember me, though I live at this distance, that you should never see me more. I thank you for this good time; and know and be assured, though my condition subjects me to divers temptations, yet my soul hath strong desires after the best things.’ ”

The letter is as follows:—

“PRINCESS ELIZABETH,

“I have heard of thy tenderness towards the Lord and his holy truth, by some Friends that have visited thee, and also by some of thy letters, which I have seen; which indeed is a great thing for a person of thy quality to have such a tender mind after the Lord and his precious truth, seeing so many are swallowed up with voluptuousness, and the pleasures of the world; yet all make an outward profession of God and Christ one way or other, but without any deep sense and feeling of Him. For it is not many mighty nor wise of this world, that can become fools for Christ’s sake, or can become low in the humility of Christ Jesus from their mighty state, through which they might receive a mightier estate, and a mightier kingdom, through the inward Holy Spirit, the divine light and power of God; and a mightier wisdom, which is from above, pure and peaceable; which wisdom is above that which is earthly, sensual, and devilish, by which men destroy one another about their religious ways, worships, and churches: but this they have not from God nor Christ. The wisdom which is from above, by which all men were made and created, of which the holy fear of God in the heart is the beginning, keeps the heart clean. By this wisdom are all God’s children to be ordered, and with it come to order all things to God’s glory. This is the wisdom that is justified of her children. In this fear of God and wisdom, my desire is, that thou mayst be preserved to God’s glory. For the

Lord is come to teach his people himself, and to set up his ensign, that the nations may flow unto it. There hath been an apostacy, since the apostles' days, from the divine light of Christ, which should have given them the 'light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Christ Jesus;' and from the Holy Spirit, which would have led them to all truth; and therefore have people set up so many outward leaders, to give them knowledge; and also from the holy and precious faith, of which Jesus Christ is the author and finisher, which faith purifies the heart, and gives victory over that which separates from God; through which faith they have access to God, and in which faith they please God; the mystery of which is held in a pure conscience. And also, from the gospel which was preached in the apostles' days, (which gospel is the power of God,) which brings life and immortality to light in man and woman, by which people should have seen over the devil who has darkened them; which gospel will preserve all them that receive it in life and immortality. For the eyes of the people have been after men, and not after the Lord, who doth write his law in the hearts, and puts it into the minds of all the children of the new covenant of light, life, and grace; through which they all come to know the Lord, from the least to the greatest: so that the knowledge of the Lord may cover the earth, as the waters do the sea.

"This work of the Lord is beginning again, as it was in the apostles' days; people shall come to receive an unction in them from the Holy One, by which they shall know all things, and shall not need any man to teach them, 'but as the anointing teacheth them;' and also to know what the righteousness of faith speaks, the word nigh in the heart and mouth, to obey it and do it. This was the word of faith the apostles preached; which is now received and preached again, and is the duty of all true Christians to receive. So now people are coming out of the apostacy, to the light of Christ and his Spirit; to receive faith from Him, and not from men; to receive the gospel from Him, their unction from Him, the Word; and as they receive Him, they declare Him freely,

as his command was to his disciples, and is still to the learners and receivers of Him. For the Lord God, with his Son Jesus Christ, is come to teach his people, and to bring them from all the world's ways to Christ, the Way, the Truth, and the Life, who is the way to the Father; and from all the world's teachers and preachers, to Him the speaker and teacher, as Heb. i. 1; and from all the world's worshippers, to worship God in Spirit and truth, which worship Christ set up about sixteen hundred years ago, when He put down the Jews' worship at the temple of Jerusalem, and the worship at the mountain where Jacob's well was; and to bring people from all the world's religions, which they have made since the apostles' days, to the religion which was set up by Christ and his apostles, which is pure and undefiled before God, and keeps from the spots of the world; and to bring them out of all the world's churches and fellowships, made and set up since the apostles' days, to the Church that is in God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Thess. i. 1; and to bring to the unity and fellowship in the Holy Spirit, that doth mortify, circumcise, and baptize, to plunge down sin and corruption, that has got in man and woman by transgression.

"In the Holy Spirit there is holy fellowship and unity, yea, it is the bond of the Prince of princes, the King of kings, and the Lord of lords' peace: which heavenly peace all true Christians are to maintain with spiritual, not with carnal weapons.

"And now, my friend, the holy men of God wrote the scriptures as they were moved by the Holy Ghost; and all Christendom are on heaps about those scriptures, because they are not led by the same Holy Ghost as those were, that gave forth the scriptures; which Holy Ghost they must come to in themselves, and be led by, if they come into all the truth of them, and to have the comfort of God, Christ, and the scriptures. For none can call Jesus Lord, but by the Holy Ghost; and all that call Christ Lord without the Holy Ghost, take his name in vain. Likewise, all that name his name are to depart from iniquity; then they name his name

with reverence, in truth and righteousness. Oh, therefore, feel the grace and truth in thy heart, which is come by Jesus Christ, and which will teach thee how to live, and what to deny. It will establish thy heart, season thy words, and bring salvation, and will be a teacher unto thee at all times. By it thou mayst receive Christ, from whence it comes; and as many as receive Him, to them He gives power not only to stand against sin and evil, but to become the sons of God: if sons, then heirs of a life, and a world and kingdom without end, and of the eternal riches and treasures thereof. So in haste, with my love in the Lord Jesus Christ, who tasted death for every man, and who bruises the serpent's head, which has been between God and man, that through Christ man may come to God again, and praise him through Jesus Christ, the Amen, who is the spiritual and heavenly rock and foundation for all God's people to build upon, to the praise and glory of God, who is over all, blessed for evermore.

"GEORGE FOX."

"Amsterdam, the 7th of the Sixth Month, 1677."

THE PRINCESS ELIZABETH'S ANSWER.

"DEAR FRIENDS,

"I cannot but have a tender love to those that love the Lord Jesus Christ, to whom it is given not only to believe in Him, but also to suffer for him: therefore, your letter, and your friends' visit, have been both very welcome to me. I shall follow their and your counsel, as far as God will afford me light and unction: remaining still,

"Your loving friend,

"ELIZABETH."

"Hertford, 30th August, 1677."

From the tenor of the above letter of George Fox, as well as from the writings of some of the Quakers of this period, it is evident, that G. Fox and his early followers believed, that they were a chosen people, through whose instrumentality, the gospel was once more to be preached in its original purity, power, and spirit, the same as it was in the days of the apostles; that they were sent forth to all nations, to

draw men off from the outward forms and ceremonies of their different churches, to the only true, inward, spiritual, and universal Church of Christ, which is ultimately to prevail over all outward forms and different practices, invented since the corruption and apostacy of the church during the ascendancy of popery, uniting them all under the one bond of faith, love, and peace. When we take into consideration the simplicity, self-denial, and purity of life of these early propagators of Quakerism; professing and preaching, in all things, a subjugation of their own wills to the divine will, and imitating in their conduct, and in their commerce with the world and with one another, the examples and precepts of Christ and his apostles; how disinterested and regardless they were of all worldly considerations, whenever and wherever they interfered with their religious duties; how unflinching in the vindication of their principles; how unsubdued by persecutions the most severe and illegal; and how wonderfully they were supported under them, in maintaining the direct line of their duties. They appear to have had some efficient evidence to support them in this opinion: especially if we admit of the zeal and spirituality of their preachers, many of whom, like Amos the herdsman, and Elisha the ploughman, were both unlearned and illiterate: who, with no worldly allurements to offer, but on the contrary, a renouncement of all that is too generally valued in this life by mankind, went on, converting thousands by the force of their example, and the simplicity of their doctrine; and, in the course of a few years, swelled the number of their ranks to a larger amount than can be computed at this day.

When we compare the abundance of those early days, with the present paucity of male preachers, it is to be feared, that a large portion have degenerated from the spirit and simplicity of their predecessors, both in their zeal for religion, and in their renouncement of the world; the perishable riches of which, offer to them an object of eager pursuit, as to the rest of the world. It is not, however, the possession of affluence which Christianity condemns, but its misuse.

Those whom Providence has blessed with an overflowing cup, have undoubtedly the greater responsibility, since the sphere of doing good is enlarged with the means; and the greater the possessions, the greater the incitements to stray out of the narrow way, and from the strait gate.

Time, alone, will show whether this body of Christians, in its early career the most spiritually-minded of all religious persuasions, and in practice, the nearest allied to the apostles, will realize the hopes and views of their founder and his early converts; and whether, by the force of their example, they will ever become witnesses to the world at large, of the inestimable value of a polity founded purely upon Christian principles: and also, whether they will ever become the means of generally diffusing that one universal principle of the gospel, which must ultimately prevail over all forms—the teaching of the Holy Spirit in the heart—the one spiritual baptism essential to all believers, and by which alone they can become true members of the one Church of Christ.

That some baneful canker has long tainted the stem of their pure principles, and still continues to exert its noxious influence, is evident from the religious dissensions which now exist among them, and cause a frequent defalcation from their ranks; and also, from that dereliction of principle which has subjected many professing the name of Quakers, to the stigma of legal proceedings, and some few to the ignominious punishments of our penal laws. “Son William,” said the dying Admiral to William Penn, “if you and your friends keep to your plain way of preaching, and to your plain way of living, you will make an end of the priests.”* The early Quakers did so, and in support of their principles, submitted, as we have seen, with patience and resignation to the fierce persecutions of their adversaries; and the sequel was, that at last they triumphed over their persecutors, and by their unshaken constancy gained the unmolested enjoyment of their principles, which, in the time of George Fox, were better understood by the world at large than they are now.

* Clarkson's *Life of Penn*, vol. i. p. 85.

On the 21st day of August, George Fox being joined by William Penn and a few others of the party, who still remained in Holland, and who finding themselves "clear as far as regarded their mission" into this country, sailed from the Briel. After a very tedious and stormy passage of two nights and three days, in a vessel so leaky that they were under the necessity of keeping two pumps continually at work, they arrived at Harwich.

Here William Penn and another of the party took horse immediately for Colchester; but George Fox remained to hold a meeting in the town. At its conclusion, finding some difficulty to procure a conveyance, since the post-master's wife was unwilling to accommodate him, unless he paid very exorbitantly for the hire of their coach; he walked to a Friend's house close by town, hired his wagon, and having well lined it with straw, he, with the rest of the party, proceeded in it to Colchester.

Upon his arrival in London, he was much distressed by some accounts lately arrived from New England, of fresh cruelties practised there against the Quakers. He says, "the magistrates and rulers there proceeded with great violence against Friends, whipping and abusing them very shamefully; for they whipped many women Friends. One woman they tied to a cart and dragged her along the streets, stripped to her waist. Yea, they whipped some masters of ships, who were not Friends, only for bringing Friends thither. At that time, while they were persecuting Friends in this barbarous manner, the Indians slew threescore of their men, took one of their captains, and flayed the skin off his head, while he was alive, and carried him away in triumph: so that the sober people said, the judgment of God came upon them for persecuting the Quakers; but the blind dark priests said, 'It was because they did not persecute them enough.' Great exercise of mind I had in seeking relief here for the poor suffering Friends in New England, that they might not be under the rod of the wicked." These occurrences took place in Massachusetts; but "during the whole of this war, the Mohigan Indians remained faithful to the adjoining

colony of Connecticut; and not a drop of blood was shed in their happy soil;”* where a contrary policy prevailed. “For predestination, Connecticut substituted benevolence. It hanged no witches, it persecuted no heretics.”†

About this time also, the persecutions of the Quakers at Dantzic deeply engaged his sympathy, and he addressed to them a long epistle of consolation and encouragement; a part of which runs thus: “I do believe, that your imprisonments and sufferings in that place will be for good in the end (as it hath been in all other places,) ye standing faithful to the Lord, who is all-sufficient. For your sufferings and trials will try their teachers and religions, churches and worship, and make manifest what birth they are of; even of that which persecutes him that is born of the Spirit: for ye know that there is no salvation by any other name under the whole heaven, but by the name of Jesus; therefore, it is time to leave them when there is no salvation by or in any of them. Now, Friends, I desire that you would take a list of the names of all those that belong to the King of Poland, where they live, and how ye may send books and epistles to them, and keep a correspondence with them; also the name of the bishop, or cardinal that I heard was with you; and if ye can get any that belong to the king, to come and visit the prisoners, that they may inform the king of their cruel sufferings,” &c. “The Lord God Almighty preserve you! To his protection in his eternal power, do I commend you all, in bonds or at liberty, with my love to you in the everlasting Seed of God, Christ Jesus, who bruises the head of the serpent which makes you to suffer,” &c.

The letter from which the above is taken, was written at Amsterdam, and is dated the 18th day of July, 1677. After his return from Holland, his anxiety about this portion of his followers still continuing, he addressed a long letter to the King of Poland, under whose jurisdiction the city of Dantzic was. It is a curious performance, and contains no

* Bancroft's United States of America, vol. ii. p. 109.

† Ibid. p. 464.

less than twenty examples from the writings of eminent men of all ages of Christianity, against persecution on account of religion, and in favour of a free toleration. Our limits will only admit of an extract:—

“TO JOHANNES III., KING OF POLAND, &c.

“O KING,

“We desire thy prosperity both in this life and that which is to come. And we desire that we may have our Christian liberty to serve and worship God under thy dominion: for our principles lead us not to do any thing prejudicial to the king or his people. We are a people that exercise a good conscience towards God through his Holy Spirit, and in it do serve, worship, and honour Him; and towards men in the things that are equal and just, doing to them as we would have them to do unto us; looking unto Jesus, who is the author and finisher of our faith; which faith purifies our hearts, and brings us to have access to God; without which we cannot please Him: by which faith all the just live, as the Scripture declares.

“We desire the king to consider how much persecution has been in Christendom since the apostles’ days, concerning religion. Christ said, ‘they should go into everlasting punishment that did not visit him in prison;’ then what will become of those who imprison Him in his members; where He is manifest. None can say the world is ended; therefore, how will Christendom answer the dreadful and terrible God at his day of judgment, who have persecuted one another, about religion before the end of the world, under pretence of plucking up the tares; which is not their work, but the angels’, at the end of the world. Christ commands men to love one another, and to love enemies, and by this they should be known to be his disciples. Oh! that all Christendom had lived in peace and unity, that they might, by their moderation, have judged both Turks and Jews; and let all have their liberty that do own God and Christ, and walk as becomes the glorious gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ. Our desires are, that the Lord God of heaven may soften the

king's heart to all tender consciences, that fear the Lord, and are afraid of disobeying Him.

"We entreat the king to read some of the noble expressions of several kings and others, concerning liberty of conscience; and especially of Stephanus, King of Poland, viz., 'It belongeth not to me to reform the consciences; I have always gladly given that over to God, which belongeth to Him; and so shall I do now, and also for the future. I will suffer the weeds to grow till the time of harvest, for I know that the number of believers is but small: therefore,' said he, when some were proceeding in persecution, 'I am king of the people, but not of their consciences.' He also affirmed, that 'religion was not to be planted with fire and sword.'"—*Chron. Liberty of Religion*, part ii.

He then goes on to produce examples from the writings of James I. and Charles I. of England; Constantius the Emperor, Augustinus, Irenæus, Eusebius, Emperor Maximilian, and various others, and concludes in these words:—

"Now, O King, seeing these noble testimonies concerning liberty of conscience, of kings emperors, and others, and the liberty that Paul had at Rome in the days of the heathen emperor, our desire is, that we may have the same liberty at Dantzic to meet together in our own hired houses; which cannot be any prejudice either to the king or the city of Dantzic, for us to meet together to wait upon the Lord, and pray unto Him, and to serve and worship Him in spirit and in truth in our own hired houses; seeing our principle leads us to hurt no man, but to love our enemies, and to pray for them; yea, them that persecute us. Therefore, O king, consider, and the city of Dantzic, would you not think it hard for others to force you from your religion to another, contrary to your consciences? And if it be so, that you should think it hard to you, then 'do you unto others as you would have them do unto you;' for that is the royal law, which ought to be obeyed. And so in love to thy immortal soul, and for thy eternal good this is written. "GEORGE FOX."

This letter was sent over to the care of three Friends in Holland, and by them was translated and delivered to the King of Poland, who received it and read it through; but

from the complaints which still continued to come from Dantzic, it appears that it was unsuccessful in engaging the king's interference; for the magistrates still continued to pursue the same cruel treatment, and the Quakers were every where driven from their houses, and immured in dungeons.

About this time, the attention of G. Fox was directed to the settlement of a considerable dissension, which had again sprung up respecting the separate meetings for the women, and also upon other matters connected with the discipline of the Society. As this discontent was principally confined to the county of Buckingham, he appointed two meetings, near High Wycombe, for a full consideration of these differences; one of which was held at the house of Thomas Ellwood, once amanuensis to the poet Milton, and was so numerously attended, that the meeting could only be accommodated in a large barn. Upon this occasion, he so fully confuted the objections of the dissentients, as to confirm the minds of those already contented, to recover those who had been wavering between the two opinions, and to cause those whom it was impossible to satisfy to leave the Society altogether; who very soon afterwards came to naught. These meetings had a very beneficial effect, since they were the means of more closely uniting those Friends who were faithfully inclined, and of ridding the Society of those who found the plainness and simplicity of their precepts too straight a path.

Some of the separatists still continuing to raise a clamour against their wholesome laws, he published an address for the purpose of exposing the errors of their statements. It begins, "All that deny prescriptions without distinction, may as well deny all Scriptures, which were given forth by the power and Spirit of God. For do not they prescribe how man should walk towards God and man, both in the Old and New Testament." It finishes as follows:—There is a loose spirit that cries for liberty, and against prescriptions, yet the same is prescribing ways, both by words and writings. The same spirit cries against judging, and would not be judged, yet is judging with a wrong spirit. This is given forth in reproof of that spirit.

"GEORGE FOX."

CHAPTER XIX.

1678—1685. His prosecution for the small tithe of Swarthmore—Fresh troubles befall the Quakers—Writes a cautionary letter to them—His second trip to Holland, and letter to the Duke of Holstein in defence of women's preaching—His second letter to the King of Poland.

"And hereby we do know that we know him, if we keep his commandments. He that saith, I know him, and keepeth not his commandments, is a liar, and the truth is not in him. But whoso keepeth his word, in him verily is the love of God perfected. Hereby know we that we are in him."—1 John ii. 3—5.

1678. The vocation and duties of George Fox were chiefly directed to the metropolis and its vicinity, till about the middle of this year, when he once more went down to his wife's estate at Swarthmore; where he continued to reside rather better than a twelvemonth, keeping himself very much at home, and employing his time in epistolary communication with Friends in various parts of the globe, and in writing many papers, concerning the affairs and the well-ordering of the Society.

In January, 1680, he again left his residence in Lancashire, to which he never after returned; for the interests of the Society, during the renewed persecutions which befell it at the latter end of Charles the Second's reign, required his almost constant presence in the capital; so that his labours were mostly confined to London, with occasional excursions to some of the surrounding counties.

In his journey from Swarthmore, he passed once more through Westmoreland into Yorkshire, and then through most of the intervening counties on his route to London, holding meetings at every suitable place on his road, according to his usual practice.

In the month of March, in the following year, (1681,) he

was put to some trouble about the small tithes of Swarthmore. He says, "About this time I had occasion to go to several of the judges' chambers upon a suit about tithes. For my wife and I, with some other Friends, were sued in Cartmel-Wapentake-Court, in Lancashire, for small tithes, and we had demurred to the jurisdiction of that court. Whereupon, the plaintiff prosecuted us in the Exchequer Court at Westminster; where he ran us up to a writ of rebellion, for not answering the bill upon oath, and got an order of court to the serjeant to take me and my wife into custody. This was a little before the Yearly Meeting, at which time it was thought they would take me up; and according to outward appearances it was very likely, and very easy for the serjeant to have done it, I lodging at the same places where I used to lodge, and being very public at meetings. But the Lord's power was over them, and restrained them, so that they did not take me. Yet, understanding that a warrant was out against me, as soon as the Yearly Meeting was over, I took William Mead with me, and went to several of the judges' chambers, to let them understand both the state of the case, and the ground and reason of our refusing to pay tithes. The first we went to, was Judge Gregory, to whom I tendered my name and my wife's answer to the plaintiff's bill; in which was set forth, that my wife had lived three and forty years at Swarthmore, and in all that time there had been no tithe paid nor demanded; and an old man, who had been a tithe gatherer, had made affidavit, that he never gathered tithes at Swarthmore Hall, in Judge Fell's time nor since. There were many particulars in our answer, but it would not be accepted without an oath. I told the Judge, that both tithe and swearing among Christians came from the pope; and it was a matter of conscience to us not to pay tithes, nor to swear: for Christ bid his disciples, who had freely received, give freely; and He commanded them, 'not to swear at all.' The judge said there was tithe paid in England before popery was. I asked him, by what law or statute they were paid then? but he was silent. Then I told him, there were eight poor men brought up to London out of the

north, about two hundred miles, for small tithes; one of them had no family but himself and his wife, and kept no living creature but a cat. I asked him also, 'Whether they could take a man and his wife, and imprison them both for small tithes, and so destroy a family? If they could, I desired to know by what law?' He did not answer me, but only said, 'That was a hard case.' When I found there was no help to be had there, we left him, and went to Judge Montagu's chamber. With him I had a great deal of discourse about tithes. Whereupon he sent for our adversary's attorney; and when he came, I offered him our answer. He said, if we would pay the charges of the court and be bound to stand trial, and to abide the judgment of the court, we should not have the oath tendered to us. I told him, they had brought those charges upon us, by requiring us to put in an answer upon oath; which they knew before we could not do for conscience' sake; and as we could not pay any tithe, nor swear, so neither should we pay any of their charges. Upon this, he would not receive our answer. So we went from thence to Judge Atkins; and he being busy, we gave our answers and our reasons against tithes and swearing to his clerk; but neither could we find any encouragement from him to expect redress. Wherefore, leaving him, we went to one of the most noted counsellors, and showed him the state of our case, and our answers: he was very civil to us, and said, 'This way of proceeding against you is somewhat like an inquisition.' A few days after, those eight poor Friends, that were brought up so far out of the north, appeared before the judges, and the Lord was with them, and his power was over the court, so that these Friends were not committed to the Fleet. Our cause was put off till the next term, and then it was brought before the four judges again. William Mead told the judge, I had engaged myself never to meddle with my wife's estate. The judges could hardly believe that any man would do so; whereupon, W. Mead produced the writing under my hand and seal; at which they wondered. Then two of the judges and some of the lawyers stood up and pleaded for me, 'that I was not liable to the tithes;' but the

other two judges and divers lawyers pressed earnestly to have me sequestered, alleging, 'that I was a public man.' At length, they prevailed with one of the other two judges to join with them, and then granted a sequestration against me and my wife together. By advice of counsel, we moved for a limitation, which was granted, and that much defeated our adversary's design in suing out a sequestration; for this limited the plaintiff to take no more than was proved. One of the judges, Baron Weston, was very bitter, and broke forth in a great rage against me in the open court; but in a little time after, he died." Thus ends his own account of the transaction; but what was the consequence of the sequestration, he no where mentions.

The church-party, by the violence of their proceedings against the dissenters, had now subdued nearly all the different sects, and had driven them either to subterfuges or into holes and corners, with the single exception of the Quakers, who still openly maintained their ground, steadfastly remained faithful to their principles, and patiently endured the brunt of all their malice, which at this time again broke out afresh. This party, provoked by the unflinching perseverance and obstinacy of the Quakers, as they termed it, were determined, if it could be effected by force and violence, either to suppress them altogether, or to exterminate the name. New laws were now framed, and old ones violated, in order to persecute this Society to the uttermost. Their meeting-houses were ordered to be shut up, their preachers to be fined and imprisoned, and the individuals of this persuasion, already subjected to all sorts of contumely from the vulgar, were now refused, in the courts of justice, the protection to which the laws of their country entitled them; and the common jails were again every where crowded with their persons. Such is the picture which the history of this period presents us of the acrimony of the episcopalians, or more properly speaking, of the high-church party, which always has been both a faction and a sect, and whose motto now was, "Non-resistance, and passive obedience;" but which would have been instantly thrown aside by them, had the king chosen to have given the ascen-

dency, either to the papists or the presbyterians. It forcibly proves how necessary and requisite is a wholesome check to any hierarchy, possessing both power and temporalities, supposed to be independent of the state. For these two worldly motives have been, and still may be, the means of leading the priesthood of such an establishment, whatever be its doctrines, into an unchristian persecution of their fellow-men, because they may conscientiously presume to differ from them upon some points, not hurtful to the good order or well-being of the community.

Our history will now show with what evil aspect the years 1682 and 1683 frowned upon the Quakers, and how fraught they were with fresh annoyances and troubles to this peaceable people, brought upon them in consequence of their constant public attendance at the places, and on the times appointed for their religious meetings of worship, from which they were now shut out by force.

The grand struggle of their adversaries, upon this occasion, was to suppress the meetings held in London and the surrounding villages; and as George Fox always chose for himself the foremost post in danger, he continued to reside either in town or the neighbourhood, in order that he might be, as much as possible, the encourager and adviser of his followers. We shall select a few remarkable instances:—

“I had some inclination,” he says, “to attend a meeting in the country; but hearing that there would be a great bustle at our meetings in London, it was upon me to go to the meeting in Grace-church Street, on First-day (Sunday.) William Penn went with me, and spoke in the meeting. While he was declaring truth, a constable came in with his great staff, and bid him give over, and come down: but William Penn held on, declaring truth in the power of God. After a while, the constable drew back; and when William Penn had done, I stood up, and declared to the people the everlasting gospel; after I had been speaking for some time, two constables came in with great staves, and bid me give over speaking, and come down; but I, feeling the power of the Lord with me, spoke on therein, both to the constables

and to the people. To the constables, I declared, 'That we were a peaceable people, who meet to wait upon God, and to worship him in spirit and in truth, and therefore they needed not to have come with their staves against us, who were met in a peaceable manner, desiring and seeking the good and salvation of all people.' Then turning my speech to the people again, I declared what was further upon me to them. While I was speaking, the constables drew towards the door, and the soldiers stood with their muskets in the yard. When I had done speaking, I kneeled down and prayed, desiring the Lord to open the eyes and hearts of all people, high and low, that their minds might be turned to God by his Holy Spirit, that He might be glorified in all and over all. After prayer, the meeting rose, and Friends passed away, the constables being come in again without the soldiers; and indeed, both they and the soldiers carried themselves civilly. William Penn and I went into a room hard by, as we used to do, and many Friends went with us; and lest the constables should think we had shunned them, a Friend went down and told them, if they would have any thing with us, they might come where we were, if they pleased. One of them came to us soon after, but without his staff, which he chose to do, that he might not be observed, for he said, 'The people told him, he busied himself more than he needed.' We desired to see his warrant, and we therein found the informer was one Hilton, a reputed papist. The constable said, he had charged the informer to come along with him to the meeting, but he had run away from him."

The following occurrence shows, that the very means that were taken to suppress the Quakers, only served to excite a greater interest in their behalf, and to spread their doctrine. "I was moved," he says, "to go to the meeting at Gracechurch Street; and it was expected that the officers would come to break up the meeting, or keep Friends out; and many hundreds of people came to see what would be done to us. But the officers came not: so we were in peace and quietness; and many of the people that came to look on, stayed all the time; and a glorious, precious meeting we had,

for the Lord's presence was plentifully amongst us, and his power came over all; glory to his name for ever; who is over all!"

At another time, he attended the Sunday afternoon meeting at Devonshire House, in Bishopgate Street, because he had heard that the Friends had been excluded from their morning meeting. He went early, but upon his arrival found the passages leading to the meeting-house filled with constables, who refused to admit him, saying, "that they were very sorry to do so; but their orders were positive, not to admit any one." The Quakers therefore held their meeting in the street, close to the entrance of their meeting-house. George Fox says, "I would not press upon them, so I stood by, and they were very civil. After awhile the power of the Lord began to spring up among Friends, and one began to speak. The constables soon forbade him, and said, he should not speak; and he not stopping, they began to be wroth. But I gently laid my hand upon one of the constables, and wished him to let him alone. The constable did so, and the man did not speak long. After he was done, I was moved to stand up and speak: and in my declaration said, 'They need not come against us with swords and staves; for we are a peaceable people, &c. We did not meet to plot or contrive against government; but to worship God in spirit and in truth. We had Christ to be our Bishop, Priest, and Shepherd, to feed us and oversee us, and he ruled in our hearts; so we could all sit in silence, enjoying our Teacher.' So to Christ their Bishop and Shepherd I recommended them all. I sat down, and after awhile was moved to pray, and the power of the Lord was over all; and the people, with the constables and soldiers put off their hats. When the meeting was done, and Friends began to pass away, the constable put off his hat, and desired the Lord to bless us: for the power of the Lord was over him and the people."

In January, 1683, he again relates, "I went to Kingston-upon-Thames. As I went to the meeting, I met the chief constable, who had been to the meeting-house, and had set watchmen to keep us out; yet he was pretty civil, and the

watchmen let us have a couple of forms out of the house to sit upon, in the highway: so Friends met together there, and a very precious meeting we had; for the refreshing presence of the Lord was with us, in which we parted in peace."

Upon another occasion, he went to the meeting, held at the Bull and Mouth in Aldersgate Street, the entrance to which he found guarded by watchmen and constables. "So we met in the street," he narrates, "and when any Friend spoke, the officers and watchmen made a great bustle to pull him down and take him away into custody. After some other Friends had spoken, it was upon me to speak. I said, 'Heaven is God's throne, and the earth is his footstool: and will ye not let us stand upon God's footstool to worship and serve the living God?' While I spoke, they were silent: and after I had cleared myself, we broke up our meeting in peace. This was on the sixth day of the week," (Friday.) He continues, "On the first day (Sunday) following, I was moved to go to the meeting at Gracechurch Street. When I came there, I found a guard set at the entrance in Lombard Street, and another at the gate in Gracechurch Street, to keep Friends out of the meeting-place; so we were fain to meet in the street. After some time, I got a chair, stood upon it and spoke largely to the people; opening the principles of truth to them, and declaring many weighty truths, concerning magistracy and the Lord's prayer. There was, besides Friends, a great multitude of people, and all were very quiet; for the Lord's power was over all, and in his time we broke up our meeting, and departed in peace."

Upon another occasion, he attended the meeting in the Savoy, "which," he says, "was large, and many professors and sober people were there. The Lord opened many precious mighty things through me to the people, which I declared among them, and as I was speaking in the power of the Lord, and the people were greatly affected therewith, on a sudden the constables, with the rude people, came in like a sea. One of the constables said, 'Come down,' and laid hands on me. I asked him, 'Art thou a Christian?' 'We are Christians.' He had hold on my hand, and was very fierce

to pluck me down; but I stood still and spoke a few words to the people; desiring of the Lord, that the blessings of God might rest upon them all. The constable still called upon me to come down, and at length plucked me down, and bid another man with a staff, 'Take and carry him to prison.' That man took me to another officer's house, who was more civil; and after awhile they brought in four more Friends, whom they had taken. I was very weary, and several Friends hearing where I was, came to me in the constable's house; but I bid them all go their ways, lest the constables and informers should stop them. After some time, the constables took us almost a mile to a justice, who was a fierce, passionate man: after he had asked me my name, and his clerk had taken it in writing, upon the constable's information, 'That I had preached in the meeting,' he said to me in an angry manner, 'Do not you know that it is contrary to the king's laws to preach in such conventicles, contrary to the liturgy of the Church of England?' There was present one Shad, (a wicked informer) who had broken jail at Coventry, and had been burnt on the hand at London, who, hearing the Justice speak to me, stepped up to him, and told him, 'That he had convicted them on the act of the 22d of Charles II.' 'What! you convict them?' said the justice. 'Yes,' said Shad, 'I have convicted them, and you may convict them too upon the same act.' With that, the justice was angry with him, and said, 'You teach me! What are you? I'll convict them of a riot.' The informer hearing thus much, and seeing the justice was angry, went away in a fret; so he was disappointed of his purpose. I thought he would have sworn somebody against me: whereupon I said, 'Let no man swear against me, for it is my principle not to swear; and therefore I would not have any man swear against me.' The justice thereupon asked me, 'If I did not preach at the meeting?' I told him, 'I did confess what God and Christ had done for my soul; and did praise God. I thought I might have done that in the streets, and in all places, viz., praise God, and confess Jesus Christ; which I was not ashamed to confess. Neither was this contrary to the liturgy

of the Church of England.' The justice said, 'the laws were against such meetings as were contrary to the liturgy of the church.' I said, 'I knew no such laws against our meetings; but if he did mean that act which was made against such as did meet to plot, contrive, and raise insurrections against the king, we were no such people, but did abhor all such actions, and did bear true love and good will towards the king, and to all men upon the earth.' The justice then asked, 'If I had been in orders?' I told him, 'No.' Then he took his law-books, and searched for laws against us, bidding his clerk take the names of the rest in the mean time. But when he could find no other law against us, the clerk swore the constable against us. Some of the Friends bid him take heed what he swore, lest he were perjured, for he took them in the entry, and not in the meeting. Yet, the constable being an ill man, swore, 'that they were in the meeting.' However, the justice said, 'Seeing there was but one witness, he should discharge the rest; but he would send me to Newgate, and I might preach there.' I asked him, 'If it stood with his conscience to send me to Newgate for praising God, and for confessing Christ Jesus?' He said, 'Conscience! conscience!' but I felt my words had touched his conscience. He bid the constable take me away, and he would make a mittimus to send me to prison, when he had dined. I told him, 'I desired his peace, and the good of his family; and that they might be kept in the fear of the Lord.' So I passed away, and as I went, the constable took some Friends' word, that I should come to his house the next morning by the eighth hour. Accordingly, I did go with those Friends, and the constable told us, he went to the justice for the mittimus, after he had dined, and the justice bid him come again after the evening service; which he did, and then he was told, he might let me go. 'So,' said the constable, 'you are discharged.' I blamed him for turning informer, and swearing against us. He said, 'that he would do so no more.' "

During the same year, (1683) he went down to Worminghurst, in Sussex, to visit William Penn. "While I was there," he says, "James Claypole of London, was suddenly

taken ill, with so violent a fit of the stone, that he could neither stand nor lie; but through the extremity of pain, cried out like a woman in travail. When I heard it, I was much exercised in spirit for him, and went to him. After I had spoken a few words to him, to turn his mind inward, I was moved to lay my hand upon him, and prayed the Lord to rebuke his infirmity. As I laid my hand on him, the Lord's power went through him; and through faith in that power, he had speedy ease, so that he quickly fell into a sleep. When he awaked, the stone came from him like dirt; and he was so well, that the next day he rode with me five and twenty miles in a coach; though he used formerly, (as he said) to lie sometimes two weeks, sometimes a month, with one of those fits of the stone. But the Lord was entreated for him, and by his power soon gave him ease at this time: blessed and praised be his holy name therefore!"

In consequence of the ruinous distrains made upon their property, under the cloak of tithes and ecclesiastical demands, George Fox issued forth the following charge addressed to "All Friends," to caution them, that during these times of hot persecution, they might be very careful, lest in the seizure of their own goods and estates, the property of other people in their trust should suffer any loss, on account of their religious scruples. The trait of nice integrity, and of strict propriety of principle displayed in this paper, reflects much credit upon G. Fox and the Society, and offers an incontestable proof of the sincerity of their professions.

"DEAR FRIENDS AND BRETHREN IN THE LORD JESUS CHRIST,

"Who is your only sanctuary in this day of storm and persecution, spoiling of goods, and imprisonments! Let every one's eye be unto Him, who has all power in heaven and earth given unto Him; so that none can touch a hair of your head, nor you, nor any thing that ye have, except it be permitted or suffered in this day to try his people, whether their minds be with the Lord, or in outward things. Dear Friends, take care that all your offerings be free, and of your own, that have cost you something; so that ye may not offer of

that which is another man's, or that which ye are intrusted withal (and not your own,) or fatherless or widows' estates; but all such things settle and establish in their places. You may remember, many years ago, in a time of great persecution, divers Friends, who were traders, shop-keepers, and others, had the concerns of widows and fatherless, and other people's estates in their hands. And when a great suffering, persecution, and spoiling of goods came upon Friends, especial care was taken, that all might offer up to the Lord in their sufferings what was really their own, and not any other people's estates, or goods, which they had in their hands; and that they might not offer up another person's, but that which they had bought and paid for, or were able to pay for. Afterwards, several letters came out of the country, to the meeting in London, from Friends that had goods of the traders in London, upon credit, which they had not paid for; who wrote to their creditors, entreating them to take their goods again. And some Friends came to London themselves, and treated with their creditors, letting them understand, 'that they were liable to have all they had, taken away from them;' and told them, 'they would not have any man to suffer by them;' neither would they by suffering, offer up any thing but what was really their own, or what they were able to pay for. Upon which, several traders took their goods again. This circumstance wrought a very good savour in the hearts of many, when they saw such a righteous, just, and honest principle in Friends, that they would not make any suffer for their testimony; but what they did suffer for the testimony of Jesus, should really and truly be their own, and not other people's. In this they owed nothing to any but love. So in this way, man and woman stand in the free offering, a free people, whether it be spiritual or temporal, which is their own; and in that they wrong no man, neither inwardly nor outwardly. Ornan said unto David, 'I give thee the threshing-floor, &c., and the oxen for burnt offerings, and threshing instruments for wood, and the wheat for the meat-offering, I give it all.' But King David said unto Ornan, 'Nay, but I will verily buy it for the full price; for

I will not take that which is thine for the Lord, nor offer burnt offerings without cost.”—1 Chron. xxi. 22, &c. You may here see, that David would not accept of another man’s gifts for an offering to the Lord; he would not offer up that which cost him nothing; but what should really be his own. ‘A good man will guide his affairs with discretion.’

“Let this be read in your Monthly and Quarterly Meetings, both of men and women.

“GEORGE FOX.”

1684. This year he made another short trip to Holland, leaving England upon the 4th day of April, and returning on the 16th day of May. Nothing very remarkable occurred during this trip. He gives the following account of an interview that took place between himself and a baptist minister:—“Before I left Amsterdam, I went to visit Galenus Abrahams, a teacher of chief note among the mennonites or baptists. I had been with him, when I was in Holland about seven years before, at which time William Penn and George Keith had disputes with him. He was then very high and shy, so that he would not let me touch him, nor look upon him, (by his good-will) but bid me, ‘keep my eyes off him, for they pierced him.’ Upon this occasion, he was very loving and tender, and confessed, in some measure, to truth: his wife also, and daughter were tender and kind, and we parted from them very lovingly.”

It was some time in the latter end of this year, after his return from Holland, that he wrote the following letter in defence of the preaching of women, addressed,—

“FOR THE DUKE OF HOLSTEIN, WHOM I ENTREAT IN THE LOVE OF GOD, TO READ OVER THIS, WHICH IS SENT IN LOVE TO HIM.

I understand that formerly, by some evil-minded persons, it was reported to thee, when Elizabeth Hendricks came to Fredrickstadt to visit the people called Quakers, that it was a scandal to the Christian religion that a woman should be suffered to preach in a public assembly, religiously gathered together, &c. Upon which thou gavest forth an order to the

people of Fredrickstadt, 'to make the said people leave the place forthwith, or to send them away.' But the said rulers being Arminians, and they, or their fathers, being come to live there, as a persecuted people in Holland, not much above threescore years ago, made answer to the duke, 'They were not willing to persecute others for conscience' sake, who had looked upon persecution on that account in their own case as anti-christian,' &c. But after that, the people of God, in scorn called Quakers, did write unto thee, O Duke, from Fredrickstadt; and since that time, they have had their liberty, and their meetings peaceable, to serve and worship God, almost these twenty years at Fredrickstadt, and thereabouts, freely without any molestation; which liberty they have acknowledged as a great favour and kindness from thee.

And now, O Duke, thou professing Christianity from the great and mighty name of Christ Jesus, who is the King of kings and Lord of lords, and the holy Scriptures of truth of the Old and New Testament, do not you use many women's words in your service and worship, out of the Old and New Testament?

"Though the apostle forbids unruly women to speak in the church; yet in another place the apostle encourages the good and holy women to be teachers of good things, as in Titus ii. 3, 4. The apostle said, 'I entreat thee, true yoke-fellow, help those women which laboured with me in the gospel, and with other of my fellow-labourers, whose names are written in the book of life.' Here he owns these holy women, and encourages them which laboured with him in the gospel, and did not forbid them; Phil. iv. 2, 3. He likewise commends Phœbe unto the church of the Romans, calls her 'a servant unto the church of Cenchrea,' sends his epistle by her to the Romans from Corinth, and desires the church of Rome to 'receive her in the Lord as becometh saints;' and to 'assist her in whatsoever business she had need of; for she had been a succourer of many, and of himself also.' And he said, 'Greet Priscilla and Aquila, my helpers in Christ Jesus, who have for my life laid down their own necks; unto whom not only I give thanks, but through the

churches of the Gentiles.' Now, here the Duke may see, these were good, holy women, whom the apostle did not forbid speaking,—Rom. xvi. 1—4, but commanded them And Priscilla and Aquila instructed and expounded unto Apollos the way of God more perfectly, Acts xviii. 26. So here Priscilla was an instructor as well as Aquila; which holy women the apostle did not forbid. Neither did the apostle forbid Philip's four daughters, which were virgins, to prophesy. Women might pray and prophesy in the church, 1 Cor. xi. 5.

"The apostle showed to the Jews the fulfilling of Joel's prophecy: 'That in the last days, God would pour out his Spirit upon all flesh, and their sons and daughters, servants and hand-maids, should prophesy with the Spirit of God.' So the apostle encourages daughters and hand-maids to prophesy as well as sons; and if they do prophesy, they must speak to the church or people, Joel iii. 28; Acts ii. 17, 18.

"And in Luke i. 41—55, see what a godly speech Elizabeth made to Mary, and what a large godly speech Mary made also. Mary said, 'That the Lord did regard the low estate of his hand-maid,' &c. And do not you make use, in your worship and services, of Mary and Elizabeth's words from Luke i. 41—55, in your churches, and yet forbid women's speaking in your churches? Yet all sorts of women speak in your churches when they sing and say Amen. In Luke ii. there was Anna the prophetess, who departed not from the temple, but served God with fasting and prayer night and day. Did not she confess Christ Jesus in the temple, and give thanks to the Lord, and 'speak of Christ to all that looked for redemption in Jerusalem?'—Luke ii. 36—38. So such holy women were not forbidden to speak in the church, neither in the law nor gospel. Was it not Mary Magdalene, and other women, that first preached Christ's resurrection to the apostles? for Christ said to Mary, &c., 'Go to my brethren, and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father and to your Father, and to my God and to your God.'—John xx. 17. Christ sent these women to preach his resurrection; so it is no shame for such women to preach

Christ Jesus: neither are they to be silent when Christ sends them. The apostle says, 'Every tongue shall confess God,' Rom. xiv. 11, and 'Every tongue shall confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father,' Phil. ii. 11. So here it is clear, that women must confess Christ as well as men, if every tongue must confess. And the apostle saith, 'There is neither male nor female; for ye are all one in Christ Jesus.'—Gal. iii. 28.

"I entreat the duke to consider these things. I entreat him to mind God's grace and truth in his heart that is come by Jesus; that by his Spirit of grace and truth, he may come to serve and worship God in his Spirit and truth; so that he may serve the living eternal God that made him, in his generation, and have his peace in Christ, that the world cannot take away. And I do desire his good, peace, and prosperity in this world, and his eternal comfort and happiness in the world that is everlasting. Amen.

"GEORGE FOX."

"London, 23th of the eighth month, 1634."

In the year 1685, he wrote a second letter to the King of Poland, in behalf of his persecuted Friends at Dantzic. It was written in consequence of some information, conveyed to him through a Polish physician then in London, of their continued sufferings.

TO JOHN THE THIRD, KING OF POLAND, GREAT DUKE OF LITHUANIA, RUSSIA, AND PRUSSIA, DEFENDER OF THE CITY OF DANTZIC, &c. CONCERNING THE INNOCENT AND AFFLICTED PEOPLE, IN SCORN CALLED QUAKERS, WHO ARE NOW FED WITH BREAD AND WATER IN THE BRIDEWELL OF THE AFORESAID CITY, UNDER CLOSE CONFINEMENT, WHERE THEIR FRIENDS, WIVES, AND CHILDREN, ARE HARDLY SUFFERED TO COME TO SEE THEM.

"O KING!

"The magistrates of the city of Dantzic say, that it is thy order and command, that these innocent and afflicted people should suffer such oppression. Now this punishment is in-

flicted upon them only because they come together in the name of Jesus Christ, their Redeemer and Saviour, who died for their sins, and is risen from the dead for their justification; who is their Prophet, whom God hath raised up like unto Moses; whom they ought to hear in all things, in this day of the gospel and new covenant; who went astray like scattered sheep, but now are returned to the chief Shepherd and Bishop of their souls.—1 Peter ii. 25. ‘Who has given his life for his sheep, and they hear his voice and follow Him;’ who leads them into his ‘pastures of life.’—John x.

“Now, O King! I understand that thou openly professest Christianity, and the great and mighty name of Jesus Christ, who is King of kings and Lord of lords, to whom is given all power in heaven and in earth, who rules all nations with a rod of iron. Therefore, O King, it seems hard to us, that any who openly confess Christ Jesus, (yea, the magistrates of Dantzic do the same,) should inflict those punishments upon an innocent and harmless people, by reason of their tender conscience, only because they come together to serve and worship the Eternal God, who made them, in spirit and in truth; which worship Christ Jesus set up sixteen hundred years ago: as we read in John iv. 23, 24.

“I beseech the king, that he would consider, whether Christ in the New Testament, ever gave such a command to his apostles, that they should shut up in prison, and feed them with bread and water, who were not conformable in every particular to their religion, faith and worship? Where did the apostles exercise such things in the true church, after Christ’s ascension? Is not this the doctrine of Christ and the apostles, that Christ’s followers should ‘love their enemies, and pray for them that hate them and persecute and despitefully use them?’—Matt. v.

“Is it not a shame to Christendom, among the Turks and others, that one Christian should persecute another, for the doctrine of faith, worship, and religion? They cannot prove that Christ ever gave them such a command, whom they profess to be their Lord and Master. For Christ says, that his believers and followers should ‘love one another, and by

this they should be known to be his disciples.' And did not Christ reprove those who would have 'fire to come down from heaven,' to destroy them who would not receive him? and did he not tell them, 'they did not know what spirit they were of?' Have all who have persecuted men, or taken away their lives, because they would not receive their religion, known what spirit they were, or are of? Is it not good for all to know, by the Spirit of Christ, what spirit they are of? For the apostle says, Rom. viii. 9, 'If any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his.' And, 2 Cor. x. 4, 'The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but spiritual,' &c. And 'we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against spiritual wickedness,' &c. Thus we see, that the fight of the first Christians, and their weapons in the days of the apostles, were spiritual.

"Now would not the king and the magistrates of Dantzic, think it contrary to their consciences, if they should be forced by the Turk to his religion? Would it not, in a like manner, seem hard to the magistrates of Dantzic, and contrary to their consciences, if they should be forced to the religion of the King of Poland? or to the King of Poland, if he should be compelled to the religion of the magistrates of Dantzic? And if they would not be subject thereunto, that then they should be banished from their wives and families, and out of their native country, or otherwise be fed with bread and water, under strict confinement.

"Therefore, we beseech the king, with all Christian humility, and the magistrates of Dantzic, that they would order their proceedings in this matter according to the royal law of God, which is, 'to do unto others as they would have others do unto them,' and 'to love their neighbours as themselves.' For we have this charity, that we hope and believe, that the King of Poland and his people, with the magistrates of Dantzic, own the writings of the New Testament, as well as of the Old; and, therefore, we beseech the king and the magistrates of Dantzic to take heed, that their work of imprisoning an innocent people, for nothing but their meeting together, in tenderness of conscience, to serve and worship

God, their Creator, may not be contrary and opposite to the royal law of God, and to the glorious and everlasting gospel of truth.

“We desire the king, in Christian love, earnestly and weightily to consider these things, and to give order to set the innocent prisoners, our friends, called Quakers, at liberty from their strict confinement in Dantzic; that they may have freedom to serve and worship the living God in spirit and in truth, to go home to their habitations, and follow their trades and calling, to maintain their wives, children, and families. And we believe that the king, in doing such a noble, glorious, yea, Christian work, will not go unrewarded from the Great God who made him, whom we serve and worship, who has the hearts of kings, and their lives and length of days in his hands.

“From him who desires that the king and all his ministers may be preserved in the fear of God, and receive his word of wisdom, by which all things were made and created; that by it he may come to order all things to the glory of God, which God has put under his hand: that both he and they may enjoy the comforts and blessings of the Lord in this life, and in that which is to come, life eternal.
—Amen.

“GEORGE FOX.”

“London, the 10th of the Fifth Month,
commonly called May, 1684.”

“POSTSCRIPT.—The king may please to consider, that his and all men’s consciences are the prerogative of God.”

CHAPTER XX.

1685—1690. Death of Charles II.—Petition of the Quakers to James II.—The king's proclamation and general liberation of the Quakers—Several of G. Fox's papers—Death and character

"Be ye doers of the word, and not hearers only, deceiving yourselves. What doth it profit, my brethren, though a man say he hath faith, and hath not works? Can faith save him?"—James i. 11.

"Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his!"—Numb. xxiii. 10. "And I heard a voice from heaven, saying, Write, Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord, from henceforth."—Rev. xiv. 13.

The year 1685 teemed with events of the utmost importance to the nation at large, which even threatened a severe blow to the cause of the Reformation, by a new overthrow of the protestant church of England. In the month of February, the king was suddenly seized with convulsive fits, and after an illness of a few days, expired; and the throne, to the great dismay of the nation, was now to be filled by his papist brother, James the Second. As this event came upon the nation most unexpectedly, the late king being in the prime of life, all parties were in a state of painful excitement, naturally looking for great changes, without being able to calculate either upon their nature or extent.

The persecutions against the dissenters had been carried on with unremitting virulence by the high-church party, up to the period of the late king's decease, and upon the accession of his brother James to the throne, petitions were poured in from all the aggrieved parties, praying for a toleration of their religious tenets, and that they might unmolestedly worship God in the way most agreeable to their opinions. The petition from the Quakers is as follows:—

"TO KING JAMES THE SECOND.

"THE HUMBLE APPLICATION OF THE PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.

"Whereas, it hath pleased the Almighty God, by whom kings reign, to take hence the late King Charles the Second, and to preserve thee peaceably to succeed; we, thy subjects, heartily desire, that the Giver of all good and perfect gifts, may please to endue thee with wisdom and mercy in the use of thy great power, to His glory, the king's honour, and the kingdom's good; and it being our sincere resolution, according to our peaceable principles and conversation, by the assistance of Almighty God to live peaceably and honestly, as becomes true and faithful subjects under the king's government, and a conscientious people, that truly fear and serve God; we do humbly hope, that the king's tenderness will appear, and extend with his power to express the same; recommending to his princely clemency the case of our present suffering friends hereunto annexed:—

"TO THE KING.

"THE DISTRESSED CASE AND BEQUEST OF THE SUFFERING PEOPLE COMMONLY CALLED QUAKERS, HUMBLY PRESENTED;

"SHOWING,

"That according to accounts lately given, about fourteen hundred of the said people, both men and women, are continued prisoners in England and Wales, only for tender conscience towards Almighty God, that made them; many under sentence of premunire, and many near it, not for refusing duty or substance of allegiance itself, but only because they dare not swear; others under fines upon the act of banishment; many on writs of excommunication; besides, some hundreds have died prisoners; many by means of this long imprisonment since the year 1680, as it is judged, thereby making widows and fatherless, and leaving poor innocent families in distress and sorrow. These two hard winters' confinement, have tended also to the destruction of many in cold holes and jails, their health being greatly impaired

thereby; besides the violence and woful spoil made, by merciless informers on the Conventicle Act, upon many, convicted, unsummoned, and unheard in their own defence, both in city and country; as also on 'qui tam' writs, and other processes, on twenty pounds a month fines, and two-thirds of estates seized for the king, all tending to the ruin of trade and husbandry, and of industrious families; to some not a bed left, to others no cattle to till the ground, or give them milk; nor corn for bread or seed, nor tools to work withal. And also these and other severities done under pretence of serving the king and church, thereby to force us to violate our consciences, and consequently to destroy our souls, of which we are very tender, as we are of our peace with God, and our own consciences, though accounted as sheep for the slaughter; and notwithstanding all these long sustained extremities, we, the said people, do solemnly profess and declare, in the sight of the Teacher of hearts, that we have nothing but good-will and true affection to the king, praying for his safety, and the kingdom's peace. We have never been found in any seditious or treasonable designs, as being wholly contrary to our Christian principles and holy profession.

"And knowing, that 'where the word of a king is, there is power,' we in Christian humility, and for Christ's sake, entreat, that the king will please to find out some expedient for our relief in these cases, from prison, spoil, and ruin, and we shall, as in Christian duty bound, pray God for the king's welfare in this world, and his eternal happiness in that which is to come."

Then followed a particular list or statement of the number of Quakers, at that time lying in prison in the different counties of England and Wales, amounting altogether to one thousand four hundred and sixty. And soon after the presentation of the above petition and statement, the king was graciously pleased to exercise his prerogative in favour of his peaceable and innocent subjects, the Quakers, by issuing the following proclamation, in which he ordered their release by way of pardon:—

"JAMES REX.

"Whereas our most entirely beloved brother, the late king deceased, had signified his intentions to his attorneys-general, for the pardoning such of his subjects who had been sufferers in the late rebellion for their loyalty, or whose parents or near relations had been sufferers in the late rebellion for that cause, or who had themselves testified their loyalty and affection to the government, and were persecuted, indicted, or convicted, for not taking, or refusing to take, the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, or one of them, or had been prosecuted upon any writ, or any penalty, or otherwise, in any of the courts of Westminster Hall, or in any of the ecclesiastical courts, for not coming to church, or not receiving the sacrament.

"And whereas the several persons whose names are mentioned in the schedule annexed to this, our warrant, have produced unto us certificates for the loyalty and sufferings of them and their families.

"Now, in pursuance of the said will of our said most dear brother, and in consideration of the sufferings of the said persons, our will and pleasure is, that you cause all process and proceeding, ex-officio, as well against the said persons mentioned in the said schedule hereunto annexed, as against all other persons as shall hereafter be produced unto you, to be wholly superseded and stayed; and if any of the said persons be decreed or pronounced excommunicated, or have been so certified, or are in prison upon the writ 'de excommunicatio capiendi,' for any of the causes aforesaid, our pleasure is, that you absolve, and cause such persons to be absolved, discharged, or set at liberty, and that no process or proceedings whatsoever be hereafter made in any court against any of the said persons, for any cause before-mentioned, until our pleasure therein shall be further signified.

"Given at our court at Whitehall, this 18th day of April, 1685, in the first year of our reign.

"To all archbishops and bishops, to their chancellors and commissioners, and to all such deacons and their officials, and

all other ordinaries and persons executing ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

“By his Majesty’s command.

“SUNDERLAND.”

James, when Duke of York, had always treated Admiral Penn with marks of sincere friendship, and at the birth of his son, William, he stood sponsor to the child. His godson, the celebrated William Penn, at this time ranked so high in the estimation of James, that he had access to him at all times, and it may be, in some measure, attributed to his influence with the king, that this document, so unreservedly favourable towards the Quakers, was granted. Its address clearly points out the quarter from whence all their persecutions had proceeded, and if we had no other proof, would afford evidence of the mistaken, persecuting spirit, which then prevailed with the high-church party. It is a curious fact, that the protestant dissenters should have received from a catholic prince a free toleration of their religious opinions; an indulgence which had been denied to them, in the smallest particular, by the reformed protestant church of England, and which all the religious parties of the day, with the exception of the Quakers, had been extremely tenacious of conceding to each other. When we consider the motive of this apparently liberal act, but little merit, alas! can be ascribed to the granter, who, it is clear, from his subsequent acts, only considered it as a first step towards the re-establishment of popery, by attempting the subversion of the national church, and in the furtherance of which measure, he was finally expelled from the throne of his forefathers.

This gracious proclamation of James, which threw open the prison doors throughout the nation to the Quakers, and restored several hundreds of them from cruel imprisonment to the bosoms of their families, was a source of heart-felt thankfulness to them; and in consequence thereof, their ensuing “yearly meeting,” which took place in the spring of this year, was very largely attended. George Fox says, “many of those who had been restrained in bonds for years,

came up to this yearly meeting, and caused great joy to Friends, to see our ancient faithful brethren again at liberty in the Lord's work, after their long imprisonment. And, indeed, a precious meeting we had; the refreshing presence of the Lord appearing plentifully with us and among us." A great concern, however, arose in his mind, lest in the joy and fulness of their hearts, "any should look too much to man, and not eye the Lord therein, from whence all deliverance comes;" he, therefore, wrote two epistles, to caution Friends to be watchful over themselves in this particular; stating therein, "My desires are, that all may be preserved in humility and thankfulness, in the sense of all the mercies of the Lord; and live in the peaceable truth that is over all: that ye may answer God's grace, and his light and Spirit in all; in a righteous godly life, and conversation. Let none be lifted up by their outward liberty, neither let any be cast down by suffering for Christ's sake," &c. In another place, he writes, "The Lord, by his eternal power, hath disposed the heart of the king to open the prison doors, by which about fifteen hundred persons are set at liberty, and hath given a check to informers, so that in many places our meetings are pretty quiet. My desires are, that both liberty and sufferings may be sanctified to his people, that Friends may prize the mercies of the Lord in all things, and to Him be thankful, who stilleth the raging waves of the sea, allayeth the storms and tempests, and maketh a calm. Therefore, it is good to trust in the Lord, and cast your care upon Him who careth for you. For, when ye were in jails and prisons, the Lord did by his eternal power and arm uphold you, and sanctified them to you; unto some He made them as a sanctuary, and tried his people as in a furnace of affliction, both in prisons and spoiling of goods. In all this, the Lord was with his people, and taught them to know, that 'the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof,' and that He was in all places, 'who crowneth the year with his goodness.' Therefore, let all God's people be diligent and careful to keep themselves pure and clean, and to serve God and Christ, and one another, in the glorious peaceable gospel of life and 'vation," &c.

From this period, to the close of his life, George Fox resided chiefly in London, labouring assiduously and watchfully to promote the harmony and good order of the large Society, which he had now lived to see acting with himself in the open profession of the religious principles he had so long preached and practised; and united together by the wholesome laws that, from time to time, he had instituted for the regulation and well-ordering of their conduct. In his capacity as a minister of the gospel, and as an elder of the church, he was constant in his attendance at all meetings. He also occupied much of his time in writing religious letters and epistles to all parts of the world, besides preparing for publication many papers upon religious subjects. These were mostly accomplished during the intervals between the meetings, or at those times, when he occasionally retired a few miles into the country, to recruit himself from the fatigues of his active life, by a little rest and quietness, which the infirmities of age and illness rendered indispensable. A few of these papers we shall select before closing his memoir. The first of which was written to prove from scripture, that people must repent before they can receive the gospel, and the Holy Spirit, and the kingdom of God, or be baptized.

“John the Baptist came preaching in the wilderness of Judea, saying, ‘Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.’—Matt. iii. 12. When John the Baptist was cast into prison, Mark says, that ‘John came into Galilee, preaching the gospel of the kingdom of God, and saying, The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand: repent ye, and believe the gospel.’—Mark i. 14, 15. Matthew also says, ‘From that time, Jesus began to preach, and to say, Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.’—Matt. iv. 17. And when Christ sent forth his twelve disciples, two and two, they went out and preached that men should repent, see Mark iv. 12. Christ said to the Jews, ‘Except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish.’—Luke xiii. 3—5. When the publicans and sinners came to hear Christ, and the Pharisees and Scribes murmured, saying, ‘This man receiveth sinners

and eateth with them,' Christ reproved them by a parable, and told them, 'Joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine just persons, which need no repentance,' adding, 'There is joy in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth.'

—Luke xv. Christ, after He was risen, said unto his disciples, that 'repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem.'—

Luke xxiv. 47. Peter said to the Jews, 'Repent, and be baptized, every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins; and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost.'—Acts ii. 38. Paul said, 'The times of this

ignorance God winked at; but now commandeth all men every where to repent.'—Acts xvii. 30. Simon Magus was called to repentance, if he had regarded it.—Acts viii. 22.

The apostle Paul did preach at Damascus, at Jerusalem, and throughout all the coasts of Judea, and then to the Gentiles, (turning them from darkness to the light of Christ, and from the power of Satan to God,) that they should 'repent, and turn to God, and do works meet for repentance.'—Acts xxvi. 20.

"Here we may see that people must repent before they believe and are baptized, and before they receive the Holy Ghost and the kingdom of God. They must repent of their vain life and conversation, before they receive the gospel, and must be turned from darkness to the light of Christ, from the power of Satan unto God, before they receive his Holy Spirit, and his gospel of life and salvation. The Lord doth command all men every where to repent, and do works meet for repentance. They must show that their lives, conversations, and tongues are changed, and that they serve God in newness of life, with new tongues and new hearts.

"GEORGE FOX."

The following paper also, showing wherein God's people should be like unto Him:—

"God is righteous, and He would have his people to be

righteous, and do righteously. God is holy, and He would have his people holy, and to do holily. God is just, and He would have his people to be just, and to do justly to all. God is light, and his children must walk in his light. God is an eternal infinite Spirit, and his children must walk in his Spirit. God is merciful, and He would have his people to be merciful. God's sun shines upon the good and the bad, and He causes the rain to fall upon the evil and the good; so should his people do good to all. God is love, and they that dwell in love, dwell in God. 'Love worketh no ill to his neighbour, therefore, love is the fulfilling of the law.'—Rom. xiii. 10. The apostle saith, 'All the law is fulfilled in one word, even in this, thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.'—Gal. v. 14. 'As the Father hath loved me, so I have loved you; continue ye in my love.'—John xv. 9. This should be the practice of all God's people.

"GEORGE FOX."

"And because most people," he says, "would confess that God's people should be thus, but few know how to come to this state, therefore, in the openings of the Spirit of truth, I wrote another short paper, directing to the 'Right way, and means whereby people might come unto Christ, and so be made like unto God.' " Thus:—

"Christ saith, 'I am the way, the truth and the life; no man cometh unto the Father but by me.'—John xiv. 6. And again, 'No man can come to me, except the Father, which hath sent me, draw him.'—John vi. 44. Now, what is the means by which God did draw his people to his Son, but by his Holy Spirit, who 'poureth out his Spirit upon all flesh,' (that is, upon all men and women.) By this Holy Spirit, the holy and righteous God doth draw people from unrighteousness and unholiness to Christ, the righteous and Holy One, the great Prophet, in his New Covenant and New Testament, whom Moses in the Old Covenant and Testament, said, God would raise up like unto him, whom people should 'hear in all things; and them that would not hear Him should be cut off.'

“They that do not hear the Son of God, the great Prophet do not mind the drawing of the Father by his Holy Spirit to his Son; but to them that mind the drawings of the good Spirit of the Father to the Son, the Spirit doth give understanding to know God and Jesus Christ, which is life eternal. Then they know that Jesus Christ is the way, the truth, and the life, and that none can come to God, but by and through his Son, who is their Shepherd, to feed them in his pastures and springs of life; and his sheep know his holy voice, in whom there was no sin, and in whose mouth there was no guile; and a hireling they will not hear, for he careth not for the sheep; for they are not the hireling’s, but Christ’s, who hath laid down his life for his sheep. He that robs and steals his neighbour’s words, climbeth up another way, and entereth not by the door, is a thief and robber; but Christ is the door into his sheep-fold, for his sheep to enter in by. They know that Christ is the Bishop of their souls, to see that they do not go astray from God, nor out of his pastures of life: they know that Christ is their Mediator, and makes their peace with God: and they know that Christ is their High-priest, made higher than the heavens, and hath died for their sins, and doth cleanse them with his blood, and is risen for their justification; and is able to the utmost to save all that come to God by Him.

“GEORGE FOX.”

“June, 1687.”

In continuation of the above subject, he wrote another paper in which he shows from the scriptures, that the kingdom of God, which most people contemplate as a distant object, and as something belonging to a future world, “is, in some measure, to be known and entered into in this life; but that none can know an entrance therein, but such as are regenerated or born again.” This paper, like the foregoing, abounds with quotations from the Old and New Testaments, very ably and clearly drawn together.

Objections were frequently brought against the Quakers, because many of their ministers were uneducated and simple men; and because they did not allow a learned education to

be a necessary qualification for the exercise of this important function; but relied solely upon the inward vocation. George Fox, therefore, put forth the following paper, to show from the holy writings, “How many of the holy men and prophets, and of the apostles of Christ, had been husbandmen and tradesmen,” and how unlike to such simple-minded men were the self-elected ministers of those days. It begins:—

“Righteous Abel was a shepherd, ‘a keeper of sheep.’—Gen. iv. 2. Noah was a husbandman, and he was a ‘just man, and perfect in his generation, and walked with God.’ Gen. ix. 20; and vi. 9. Abraham, the father of the faithful, was a husbandman, and had great flocks of cattle; just Lot was a husbandman, and had ‘great flocks and herds of cattle.’ Gen. xxvi. 12—14. And the promise was with Isaac: for the Lord said to Abraham, ‘In Isaac shall thy seed be called.’—Gen. xxi. 12. Jacob was a husbandman, and his sons keepers of cattle,—Gen. xlvii., and God loved Jacob. Moses kept sheep.—Exod. iii. 1. The Lord spake to him when he was keeping sheep, and sent him to Pharaoh, to bring God’s people or sheep out of Egypt. And by the hand and power of the Lord, he and his brother Aaron brought them out of Egypt, a land of anguish, bondage, darkness, and perplexity. And Moses kept the Lord’s people, or sheep, forty years in the wilderness: a meek shepherd of God he was, and kept his great flock of sheep; though some of them were destroyed in the wilderness for their contention and murmuring.

“David, though he afterwards came to be a king, was a keeper of his father’s sheep in the wilderness. The Lord called him from the sheep-cotes to feed his sheep, the house of Israel, and to defend them from the spiritual wolves, bears, and lions; and he did it to purpose, who was a man after God’s own heart.

“Elisha was a ploughman.—1 Kings xix. 19. He was called from the plough, to teach God’s people, the children of Israel, to plough up the fallow ground of their hearts, that they might bring forth seed and fruits to God, their Creator.

"The Word of the Lord came to Amos, when he was among the herdmen of Tekoa.—Amos i. 1. Here ye may see how the Lord made use of a poor man, and how he called him from following the outward flock, and from gathering outward fruits, to gather his fruits, and to follow his people or flocks, the children of Israel.

"Many of the apostles were poor fishermen. After the 'miraculous draught,' one of the other disciples said unto Peter, 'It is the Lord.' Peter hearing that it was the Lord, 'girded his fisher's coat unto him.'—John xxi. 2—7. This was after Christ was risen. So here ye may see, Peter had laid aside his fisher's coat all the while that he had been preaching before Christ's death.

"Jesus saw Matthew 'sitting at the receipt of custom, and he said unto him, Follow me. And he arose and followed Him.'—Matt. ix. 9. And Christ employed Matthew to gather his people, that were scattered from God; another kind of treasure than the outward 'custom' of the Romans. Luke was a physician, whom Christ made a physician spiritual; which was better than outward.

"Paul was a tent-maker; and being of the same craft with Aquila and Priscilla, 'he abode with them at Corinth, and wrought; for by their occupations they were tent-makers.'—Acts xviii. 3.

"GEORGE FOX."

From Kingston he issued forth the following paper:—

"'God so loved the world, that He gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him, shall not perish, (mark, not perish,) but have everlasting life.'—John iii. 16. Again, he saith, 'He that believeth on the Son of God, hath (mark, hath) everlasting life.'—ver. 36. So these believers have everlasting life while they are upon the earth. And, 'He that believeth in Christ is not condemned; but he that believeth not, is condemned already, and the wrath of God abideth on him.' And, 'He that heareth Christ's word, and believeth on God that sent him, hath (mark, hath) everlasting

life, and shall not come into condemnation, but **I** passed from death,' the death in the first Adam, 'unto life,' the life in Christ, the second Adam.—John v. 24. And that meat which Christ doth give, endureth unto everlasting life, as in John vi. 27. And the water that Christ doth give shall be in him that drinks it, 'a well of water springing up into everlasting life.'—John iv. 14. Christ said to the Jews, 'Search the scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life; and they are they which testify of me: and ye will not come to me, that ye might have life.'—John v. 39, 40. Here ye may see, the eternal life is to be found in Christ, and not in the scriptures, which testify of Him, the Life. Christ's sheep that hear his voice, know and follow Him; He gives unto them eternal life, and they shall not perish, neither shall any pluck them out of his hand. They shall not pluck Christ's sheep, to whom He hath given eternal life, out of his eternal hand. Christ said to Martha, 'I am the resurrection and the life; he that believeth in me, though he were dead, (mark, though he were dead,) yet he shall live; (mark, live, though he were dead,) and whosoever liveth, and believeth in me, shall never die. Believest thou this?' Martha said, 'Yea, Lord.'—John xxv. 26. This is the true and substantial belief, which they that believe, shall not perish, but have everlasting life. John saith, 'This is the record, that God hath given to us eternal life; and this life is in his Son.'—1 John v. 11. 'The life was manifested, and we have seen it and bear witness, and show unto you that eternal life, which was with the Father, and was manifested unto us.'—1 John i. 2. So these were the believers that had eternal life in the Son of God, and showed it unto others. 'He that hath the Son hath life,' saith John, 'and he that hath not the Son of God, hath not life.'—1 John v. 12. Christ saith, 'Every one that hath forsaken houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my name's sake, shall receive a hundred-fold, and shall inherit everlasting life.'—Matt. xix. 29. The wicked that do not receive Christ, shall go into everlasting punishment; but the righteous into everlasting life. The true servants of God have

their fruits unto holiness, and their end is everlasting life: for 'the wages of sin is death; but the gift of God is everlasting life, through Jesus Christ our Lord!' Such have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. Therefore, I desire, that God's people may endure all things, that they may obtain this salvation, which is in Christ Jesus, with eternal glory. For, Christ being made perfect, became the Author of eternal salvation to all them that obey Him.

"GEORGE FOX.

"Kingston, 6th day of the Eleventh Month, 1687."

In the following year, 1688, he put forth a paper, beginning:

"The house of Israel was called God's vineyard, in Isaiah v. 7, and all the Israelites were called the house of Israel. Israel signifies 'a prince with God, and a prevailer with men.'—Gen. xxxii. 28. When Peter preached Christ to the house of Israel, he said, 'Let all the house of Israel know assuredly, that God hath made that same Jesus, whom ye have crucified, both Lord and Christ.'—Acts ii. 36. So they were all called the house of Israel. And it is said, 'Moses was faithful in all his house (to wit, this house of Israel,) as a servant, for a testimony of those things which were to be spoken after; but Christ, as a Son, over his own house, which house are we, if we hold fast the confidence, and the rejoicing of the hope firm unto the end.'—Heb. iii. 5, 6." It concludes, "And they that are of the Son's house, are pure, righteous, and holy, and can do nothing against the truth, but for it, in their words, lives, and conversations; and so are a chosen generation, a holy nation, a peculiar people, that they should show forth the praise of Him, who hath called them out of darkness into his marvellous light.

"GEORGE FOX."

We shall give one more short selection. "A few words concerning the world's teachers, and the emptiness of their teaching."

“Doth not all, which is called Christendom, live in talking of Christ and of the apostles and prophets’ words, and the letter of the Scriptures? And do not their priests minister the letter, with their own conceptions thereupon, for money, though the holy Scriptures were freely given forth from God and Christ, and his prophets and his apostles? Yet the apostle saith, ‘The letter killeth; but the Spirit giveth life.’ —2 Cor. iii. 6. The ministers of the New Testament are not ministers of the letter, but of the Spirit: and they sow to the Spirit, and of the Spirit reap life eternal. But people spending time about old authors, and talking of them, and of the outward letter, this doth not feed their souls. For talking of victuals and clothes, doth not clothe the body, and feed it. No more are their souls and spirits fed and clothed, except they have the bread and water of life from heaven to feed them, and the righteousness of Christ to clothe them. Talking of outward things and spiritual things, and not having them, may starve both their bodies and their souls. Therefore, quench not the Spirit of God, which will lead to be diligent in all things.”

The above specimens form only a very small portion of the writings which his indefatigable pen prepared for publication at this period of his life.

The following extract relates to a public donation of some property for the use of the Society of Friends. The account is taken from the *Memoir of George Fox*, written by Thomas Evans of Philadelphia, pp. 237 to 242, and offers some interesting particulars of his character.

“GEORGE FOX’S DECLARED INTENTION AND MOTION FOR HIS GIVING UP PETTY’S HOUSE AND LAND FOR EVER, FOR THE SERVICE OF THE LORD AND THE PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.

“The eternal God, who hath in and by his eternal powerful arm, preserved me through all my troubles, trials, temptations, and afflictions, persecutions, reproaches, and imprisonments, and carried me over them all, hath sanctified all these things to me; so that I can say, all things work together for good to them that love God, and are beloved of Him.

"And the Lord God of the whole heaven and earth, and all things therein, both natural and spiritual, hath been, by his eternal power, my preserver, and upholder, and keeper, and hath taken care and provided for me, both for temporals and spirituals, so that I never did want; and have been content and thankful with what the Lord provided for me.

"And now the Lord hath done much good for me, and to his name, truth, and people, to whom I have offered up my spirit, soul, and body, which are the Lord's, made and created for his glory. And, also, I do offer and give up freely to the Lord for ever, and for the service of his sons, daughters, and servants, called Quakers, the house and houses, barns, kiln, stable, and all the land, with the garden and orchard being about three acres of land, more or less; with the commonings, peats, turfings, moss, and whatsoever other privileges that belong to it, called Pettys, in the parish of Ulverstone.

"And also my ebony bedstead with the painted curtains, and the great elbow chair, that Robert Widders sent me, and my great sea case or cellaridge, with the bottles in it. These I do give to stand in the house as heir-looms, when the house is made use of for a meeting-place; so that a Friend may have a bed to lie on, and a chair to sit in, and a bottle to hold a little water to drink.

"It being free of land-tax, and free from all tithes, both great and small; and all this I do freely give up to the Lord, and for the Lord's service and his people's, to make a meeting-place of.

"It is all the land and house I have in England, and it is given up to the Lord, for it is for his service and for his children's.

"GEORGE FOX."

"I do and have given up Pettys, which I bought of the children, Susannah Fell, and Rachel Fell, for seventy-two pounds, for God's people to meet in, when they did not meet at Swarthmore Hall; and let the rest of the ground, and malt-house maintain the meeting-house, which may be made fit

either the barn or the house, as the Lord shall let Friends see which is best; and to slate it, and pave the way to it, that so Friends may go dry to their meeting. And let, or set part of the house or land to maintain itself for ever for the Lord's service. And you may let any poor honest Friend live in part of the house. And so let it be for the Lord's service to the end of the world; and for his people to meet in, to keep them from the winter cold and wet, and the summer heat."

Extracts from letters sent to Thomas Lower of Marsh-Grange, in Lancashire, his wife's son-in-law.

In another letter to the same person, he writes, "I would have it gone about, and things prepared before-hand, as soon as you can, after you had viewed it, and seen what you will want, either lime, sand, wood, or stone. And I would have Robert Barrow to do it if he can. And I would have next winter an orchard planted where you may see fit." He further directs again, "And you may buy all things at the best hand, before-hand, to be ready. I am in the same mind still, not to put any Friend to a farthing charge. But if Friends of the meeting or thereaway, will come with carts, and help to fetch stone, lime, wood, sand, or slate, I shall take it kindly; or to get stone off the common, if need be; and you may speak to Joseph Sharp, for he is a willing man to help in any thing.

"The twenty pounds of J. R.'s, which you are to receive, I have and do order for that service: and the fifteen pounds thou hast in thy hands of Jane and Robert Widders, I order for that service, and for the building; and the five pounds Susannah brought up, I took of her, and what more ye do want, when it is wanted, let me know. And so, dear Thomas, my love is to thee and all the rest of Friends in the holy and peaceable truth, that is stronger than all they that be out of it. And God Almighty keep you in it, and in the order of it. Amen. "GEORGE FOX."

From the years 1686 to 1689, the infirmities of age had

gradually crept upon him, so that he could not bear for any length of time together, either the closeness of London, or the fatigues he there underwent in the constant attendance of his religious duties; consequently, these labours were frequently interrupted by his remaining out of town for a few weeks together, which intervals of relaxation were mostly spent, either at the house of John Rouse, near Kingston, or at William Mead's, at Goose's, near Waltham Abbey, Essex; both of whom were sons-in-law of his wife. As far, however, as his strength would permit, he continued actively employed up to the last period of his life; he attended the Yearly Meeting of 1690, which held for several days, and he constantly visited other meetings, both in town and the country, especially those about Tottenham, where he resided a great part of the year.

About the end of October, he went up to London, and on Saturday, the 10th day of November, he wrote a long epistle to "Friends in Ireland," who at that time were suffering from cruel persecutions of the papists; and the next morning attended the meeting at Grace-church Street, in the city, at the close of which, he was taken ill, and died on the Tuesday following, the 13th of November, 1690.

His own journal, which is carried on by himself up to the 10th of November, is closed by William Penn in these words:—

"Thus, reader, thou hast had some account of the life and travels, labours, sufferings, and manifold trials and exercises of this holy man of God, from his youth to almost the time of his death: of which himself kept a journal; whence the foregoing sheets were transcribed. It remains that an account be added of the time, place, and manner of his death and burial." He then states, that at the fore-mentioned meeting, he addressed the congregation both in discourse and in prayer, and "the meeting being ended," he retired to the house of a Friend adjoining the meeting, where he observed to those about him, that "he thought he felt the cold strike to his heart, as he came out of the meeting," adding, "yet I am glad I was here; now I am clear, I am fully

clear." The sensation of cold still remaining, he retired to bed, where he lay with great composure and peace of mind, retaining his senses to the last. "And as in the whole course of his life, his spirit, in the universal love of God, was set and bent for the exalting of truth and righteousness, and the making known the way thereof to the nation and people afar off; so now, in the time of his outward weakness, his mind was intent upon, and wholly taken up with that consideration: and he sent for some particular Friends, to whom he expressed his mind and desire for the spreading of Friends' books in the world." To those around him, he observed, "All is well: the Seed of God reigns over all, and over death itself. And though I am weak in body, yet the power of God is over all, and the Seed reigns over all disorderly spirits." In this "heavenly frame of mind," he continued growing weaker and weaker, and on the Tuesday evening following, between the hours of nine and ten, "he quietly departed this life in peace," in the 67th year of his age. "As he lived, so he died, rejoicing in the hope of the gospel, and in the full assurance of a glorious immortality."

His funeral took place on Friday, the 16th day of the same month. "After the meeting was ended," says William Penn, "his body was borne by Friends, and accompanied by very great numbers, to the Friends' burying-ground, near Bunhill-Fields; where, after a solemn waiting upon the Lord, and several living testimonies borne, recommending the company to the guidance and protection of that Divine Spirit and power, by which this holy man of God had been raised up, furnished, supported, and preserved, to the end of his day, his body was decently committed to the earth; but his memorial shall remain, and be everlastingly blessed among the righteous."

It now only remains to speak of his character; for many particulars of which we are indebted to the celebrated William Penn, Governor of Pennsylvania, and to Thomas Ellwood, once the amanuensis of the poet Milton, both of whom had lived with him on terms of the closest intimacy.

The person of George Fox was somewhat corpulent, and

his height above the common standard. His countenance was smooth and placid, and his intelligent gray eyes were vivid and piercing. He was active in his habits, and unremitting in his labours, both bodily and mental; he was a small sleeper, an early riser, and carefully abstemious in his diet. During his youth, so great was the simplicity of his whole appearance, and the humility of his deportment, that many, judging alone from outward appearances, at first-sight despised him as a person scarcely worthy of regard; others, more reflecting, were struck with the contrast between his unpretending appearance, and the energy of his character; being attracted by the firmness of his address, the force of his language, and his just application and accurate knowledge of the holy writings, which, upon all occasions, he aptly introduced for the encouragement of truth and virtue, and in dauntless reproof of vice and error whenever they appeared.

His accurate knowledge and understanding of the Scriptures, and the ability and power with which he explained and applied them, was a remarkable feature of his character, and enabled him, unlearned as he was in the wisdom of the world, to confute all opponents who made the Scriptures the rule of their doctrine, his quotations being always to the point, and his explanations clear and full.

In conversation and manners he was grave, courteous, and free from affectation; and from his love and good-will to all mankind, he was benevolent and "civil beyond the common forms."

In public prayer he was particularly impressive, generally using very few words, but those powerful and fervent.

Although the language of his discourses was unpolished by art, and often "abrupt," from the deficiency of his education, yet it was always striking and intelligent. These addresses were never illustrations of particular texts, nor did they embrace a variety of topics like the compositions of learned men; but were mostly employed in enforcing the leading feature of his doctrine,—the calling all men from the outward forms of religion, to the inward and spiritual religion of the heart; to Christ, "the true light, which lighteth every

man that cometh into the world," John i. 9, explaining the operations of divine grace, and claiming attention to it, as the one unerring guide, and the only sanctifier of the heart. They pointed out the necessity of true repentance, amendment of life, self-denial, and a purification of the heart from all evil; they partook largely of quotations from the sacred volume, and were always extemporaneous effusions, under the firm conviction of immediate divine inspiration.

The peculiarities of many of his views of the gospel, as regarded the then established opinions of most other religious persuasions, and the doctrine resulting therefrom, arose from intuitive impressions of his own mind; which, rejecting all the interpretation of human wisdom, relied solely upon the enlightening power of the grace of God, for the full and perfect comprehension of the important truths of the sacred volume. Thus drinking from the fountain-head, from the pure and living spring, he was moved to condemn those practices and opinions, originating in the errors introduced by traditions and learned glosses, during the dark ages of popery, many of which, are still retained by the different religious communities, called into existence since the Reformation.

A deep and living impression of religious duty was the ruling motive of all his actions, and if, in some instances, they partook of the religious excitement of the age he lived in, they resulted from a sense of undisputed obedience to the will of God. His life, from the commencement of his mission, was one continued labour of love towards his fellow-creatures, seeking their eternal peace; and throughout its whole course, affords a striking instance of straight-forward consistency. He lived to see established a large body of followers, united by gospel fellowship, and living under the rule of the most perfect system of Christian government, ever yet established since the early Christian church.

In himself, he was a wonderful example of his own doctrine of that Christian perfection, which he taught, was to be attained by the perfect subjugation of our own wills, through the cleansing power of the blood of Christ. "Be ye there-

fore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect;" urging that it was unreasonable to suppose, that God should enjoin any commandment it was impossible for us to fulfil. The whole tenor of his life was a state of innocence and unblemished purity, having in very early years, through the grace of God, subdued all evil inclinations, and overcome, by watchfulness and fastings, the temptations to sin, he was enabled faithfully to discharge the duties of the post he felt himself called upon to maintain; and like a good soldier, patiently enduring all hardships, was ever ready to lay down his life in its defence. This post, we have seen, he manfully defended to the last, and when he fell asleep, joyfully resigned his spirit to God, in whose glory and in whose laws he had faithfully walked throughout his arduous life. Displaying in his cause mental energy, unsullied truth, pure faith, firm devotion, patient suffering, persevering labour, and dauntless courage. And when we reflect, that a much smaller portion of these qualities employed for the aggrandizement of a name, or in the furtherance of ambitious views, would have gained their possessor worldly honours and heroic titles; how much more worthy of our admiration and esteem, and how much more to be prized by us, is this true Christian heroism, which sacrificing all selfish considerations, labours solely for the glory of God, and for the promotion of the eternal welfare of the whole human family, anxious that with himself, all might one day be called from works to rewards. "For what shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world, and lose his own soul? or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?"—Mark viii. 36.

SUPPLEMENTARY SUMMARY
OF THE
DOCTRINE, TENETS AND PECULIARITIES
OF
THE QUAKERS.

This Summary account of the Doctrine and Tenets held by the Society of Friends, is given as much as could be done in the words of their own approved writers; but for a more complete information respecting their opinions, and a more perfect statement of their arguments, the reader is referred to the writings of William Penn, to "Barclay's Apology," in itself an able specimen of the old style of scholastic argument, to "Clarkson's Portraiture of Quakerism," and to "Gurney's Observations on their distinguishing views."

PART I.—DOCTRINES.

SECTION I.—THE TEACHINGS OF THE SPIRIT OF TRUTH

The Quakers believe that a measure of divine grace or light is given to all mankind, which, if obeyed, is sufficient for the sanctification of the heart, and which, as its operations can only be spiritually discerned, has been called, by some writers, the “Inward Light.”

That ~~un~~ inward and perceptible guidance of the Holy Spirit forms a most prominent feature of the gospel, and is the purchase of Christ’s sufferings and death. William Penn says, that “God, through Christ, hath planted a principle in every man to inform him of his duty, and to enable him to do it; and that those who live up to this principle, are the people of God; and that those who live in disobedience to it are not God’s people, whatever name they may bear, or whatever profession they may make of religion.” Gurney, speaking of the foundation of religion common to all mankind, says, “God is the Creator and merciful Father of us all. Christ died for us all. A measure of the *influence of the Holy Spirit* enlightens, and, if obeyed, would save us all.”

This principle of the “Inward Light” is the fundamental doctrine of Quakerism: by it, they mean that spiritual saving light spoken of by St. John: “the light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.”—John i. 9. Which text, from its forcible bearing upon this point, has been called the Quaker’s text. It is the Grace or Spirit of God, or Light of Christ in us; and although the same divine principle is acknowledged by all Christians, yet the Quakers lay a much greater stress, than others, upon the various operations of this Spirit in the heart. They believe, as before observed, that a measure of this Spirit, as a universal teacher, is given to every man, and is an efficient and unerring guide for his spi-

ritual concerns; he who resists it, quenches it; he who attends to it, is in the way of obtaining the redemption purchased by the sacrifice of Christ our Saviour; by it their ministers are alone qualified for the spiritual office: it is the *talent* intrusted to each servant, with which he is to "occupy" till his Lord comes; and in proportion to his improvement of this talent, so will be his reward. They consider it, therefore, as "the primary and infallible rule of faith and manners:" and the scriptures, or inspired writings, only as a secondary means of instruction. Barclay says, "Because the scriptures are only a declaration of the fountain, and not the fountain itself, they are not to be esteemed the principal ground of all truth and knowledge, nor the primary rule of faith and manners: but a secondary rule, subordinate to the Spirit from whom they have all their excellence and certainty." Nevertheless, they look upon the sacred volume as profitable for doctrine, reproof, &c., and love and prefer it before all books in the world, and strongly recommend its perusal and study. Again, Barclay says, "The divine revelations of the Spirit, as they do not, so neither can they at any time contradict the scripture testimony, or right and sound reason. Again, he says, "We look upon the scriptures as the only fit and outward rule to judge of Christian controversies, and whatever doctrine is contrary to their testimony, must be regarded as false."

Job Scott, one of their more modern writers, has the following excellent observations on the efficacy and universality of the grace of God. He says, "I am renewedly confirmed in a sentiment I have long been settled in; which is, that there never was, and never will be, but one true religion in to world: to wit, *The work of the Spirit of God in the souls of mankind*; that some of all denominations have something of this true religion, even though many of them, through the prejudice of education, may disallow it in profession: and that no man has any real religion, but what he comes to the knowledge and experience of, through the influence of this Holy Spirit. This it is, that begins and carries on the work: this it is, that by its own divine influence opera-

ting in the minds of mankind, reveals Christ in them, 'the hope of glory,' (Col. i. 27;) or, so operates from time to time on the reading the scriptures, or other good books, or hearing the gospel preached, or meditating on the works of creation and providence, on God's judgments in the earth, or his dealings with themselves as individuals, or whatever other occasion, circumstance, or thing, is ever made a means of conviction or conversion; the Holy Spirit so operates, I say, in all these cases, as to produce a happy effect: and without the inward operation thereof, all these other opportunities and things would be utterly in vain, as to salvation, and never able to produce the least degree of true religion or sanctification in the soul. So that, though there are many opinions, many creeds, professions, and denominations, and some truly religious persons in them all; yet there is, and can be, but one true religion. Seeing a measure of the Holy Spirit is given to every man; seeing 'the grace of God that bringeth salvation, hath appeared to all men.'—Tit. ii. 11; seeing the light and life of the Holy *Word*, which in the beginning was *with God*, and *was God*, hath enlightened 'every man that cometh into the world,' and seeing, moreover, Christ Jesus hath tasted 'death for every man;' how shall we escape if we neglect and reject so great salvation? How great must be the condemnation of every soul, thus highly favoured, which yet stands out and rejects the strivings of the Spirit, the teachings of Grace, the shinings and convictions of this Divine Light.

"Now, this Light, Grace, and Spirit of God, is all one, under different appellations. It is called Spirit, because it is quick, lively, and operative, and quickens the soul to a sensibility of its state and condition; it is called Grace, because it is the free, unmerited gift of God; and it is called Light, because it makes manifest, as 'whatsoever doth make manifest is Light,' say the scriptures.—Eph. v. 13. And as this Grace or light is attended to, it will bring the soul into a state of grace and favour with God. Well, therefore, might the apostle, with holy reverence, break forth in these expressions, 'Thanks be unto God for his unspeakable gift!'—Cor. ix. 15.

And all who obey the Light will be brought out of darkness into his marvellous Light; for though the hearts of fallen men are grossly darkened, yet the Light shineth in their dark hearts; and though the darkness comprehendeth it not, if it is taken heed unto, it will shine more and more unto a perfect day, even until the whole body be full of light.

“But those who rebel against the Light, will grow darker and darker, until they know not the way thereof, nor understand the paths thereof; and become vain in their imaginations, and their foolish hearts become darkened, having loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil.”

SECTION II.—OF GOD.

They believe that God is one, the same as declared in the first epistle of John, v. 8: “For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one.” Isaac Pennington, speaking of the Trinity, says, “That the Three are distinct as three several beings or persons, the Quakers no where read in the scriptures; but they read in them, that they are one. And thus they believe their being to be one, their life one, their light one, their wisdom one, their power one. And he that knoweth and seeth any one of them, knoweth and seeth them all, according to that saying of Christ to Philip, ‘He that hath seen me hath seen the Father.’” John Crook, another of their writers, says upon the same subject, “They acknowledge one God, the Father of Jesus Christ, witnessed within man only by the Spirit of Truth, and these three are one, and agree in one; and he that honours the Father, honours the Son that proceeds from Him; and he that denies the Spirit, denies both the Father and the Son.”

William Penn says, “They are very tender of quitting scripture terms and phrases for schoolmen’s, such as distinct and separate persons and substances, &c.; and judge that a curious inquiry into those high and divine relations, though ever so great truths in themselves, tends little to godliness, and less to peace.” In which passage he evidently alludes

to the Athanasian Creed, retained by our early reformers as a portion of the church's ritual.

This creed had its origin in the religious animosities, which arose in the beginning of the fourth century, and by which dissensions, the Christian community was divided into the two factions of Trinitarians and Arians. And as the word "Trinity," together with the peculiar construction put upon this doctrine by Athanasius, no where occurs in the New Testament, and consequently can form no part of the plain promises of the gospel, it is clearly an invention of that period; and may be considered as an anathema fulminated against the Arians. This creed, devoid of one of the greatest Christian attributes—charity, and breathing of the bigotry of the faction which put it forth, naturally suggests the following query, "Why are the opinions of Athanasius, on some points, contrary both to the letter and spirit of the holy scriptures, to be received as doctrine in the nineteenth century?"

Let us hope that the time is now at hand, when all Christians will consent to admit the scriptures as their only outward rule of faith and doctrine; for since these sacred writings were given forth by the divine inspiration of the Holy Spirit, which cannot change, it follows, that no future revelation of this divine Spirit can ever be inconsistent with their doctrine, or unconformable to their true meaning. Viewing it in this light, it is to be regretted that our reformed church should still retain a creed so obnoxious from its damnatory clause, and so presumptuous in its denunciations, wherein a fallible mortal takes upon himself to condemn all those to everlasting perdition who, guided by the words of the gospel, may conscientiously disavow its assertions, and more especially, if we call to mind, that our Saviour declared to his followers, that "all manner of sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven to men; but the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven unto men."—Matt. xiii. 31. Now, every candid mind will admit, that it is possible conscientiously to disbelieve some points of this creed, without any blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, and therefore the above

declaration of our blessed Lord is made of none effect by the curse of St. Athanasius.

Should any one in defence of this portion of the liturgy, plead its antiquity, and its long usage in the reformed church as a reason for its retention,—let it be remembered that its long usage is no justification of its errors, and that we plead as a surer test of faith and doctrine, a higher authority of much greater antiquity, no less than the inspired words of God, as transmitted to us in the Scriptures; of which the gospel is at least three hundred years more ancient than Athanasius or the Nicene church, and the Bible the most ancient record extant.

“The pretension,” says the talented M. Guizot, “to transmit articles of belief from high to low throughout the whole religious society, without allowing any one the right of private judgment, is the debasement of the rights of individual reason. It is more easy to lay down this pretension as a principle, than to make it actually prevail.”* One of the fallacious dogmas of popery was, that theological subjects belonged exclusively to the decision of the ecclesiastics, and that laymen upon no account were permitted to canvass them. “And it has required ages and terrible revolutions to subdue this hypothesis, and bring back, even partially, religious questions and science to the public domain.”†

In touching upon this delicate and tender ground, I have had no other motive than the elucidation of truth, and it must be borne in mind, that a leading principle endeavoured to be established throughout the foregoing Memoir, is, that the reformation, so far as it has been carried by our national church, was never completed. It would be unreasonable to expect, that in the present rapid diffusion of all kinds of science, religion should so far escape notice, as not to participate in the universal movement of the times. The pretensions of all ecclesiastical establishments must expect again to be critically examined and canvassed, and their doctrine

* Guizot's History of Civilization, Lecture v.

† Ibid. Lecture vi.

and practices to be compared and tested by the holy Scriptures. And as soon as the latter shall become in reality the only admitted test and rule of faith and doctrine, it is clear, that religious knowledge will advance, and a further reformation take place. But if, on the contrary, popish traditions, and the decrees of popish councils are to be exalted above the gospel, we must look for a retrograde motion, and expect to see the errors of popery, in some shape, once more in the ascendancy. In the prosecution of religious science, we must not rely upon worldly knowledge and scholastic acquirements, but submit to be taught by the Spirit of divine wisdom alone, which cannot teach any thing contrary to sound and right reason, or to the Scriptures of truth. "The experience derived from all synods, councils, and conferences, which have ever been held, have convinced mankind, that, however plausible in theory, such assemblies are mischievous in practice, tending always to widen breaches, and sure, if we may be allowed so homely an allusion, to make more holes than they stop."* And why?—because some worldly policy has always been at the bottom of their deliberations.

Archbishop Tillotson, writing to Bishop Burnet, says upon this subject: "The account given of Athanasius's creed seems to me no way satisfactory; I wish we were well rid of it." So, no doubt, do many of the clergy of the present day, if they chose to avow their real sentiments.

But as Penn says, "The discussion of these matters tends little to godliness and less to peace;" and for this reason the Quakers possess no written creed, and no written form of ritual, considering a strict adherence to Scripture expressions to be the safest and surest terms, and less likely to engender misconception and ill-will. They, therefore, seldom, if ever, use the terms "Trinity," or "Original Sin," and never call the Scriptures the "*word* of God," an appellation they consider to belong solely to Christ, the Word.

* *Quarterly Review*, Art. viii., for May, 1843, p. 241.

SECTION III.—OF CHRIST.

They believe that Christ is both God and man in wonderful union: that He suffered for our salvation, was raised again for our justification, and ever liveth to make intercession for us. And in reply to a charge, that the Quakers deny Christ to be God, William Penn says, “A most untrue and uncharitable censure: for their great and characteristic principle is, that Christ, as the divine Word, lighteth the souls of all men who come into the world, with a spiritual and saving light, which none but the Creator of souls can do.”

They assert, “that as many as do not resist this light, become holy and spiritual; and bring forth all those blessed fruits which are acceptable to God: and, that by this holy birth, (to wit, Jesus Christ formed within us, and working in us,) the body of death and sin is crucified, and we are freed from actually transgressing the law of God. And they entertain worthier notions of God, than to limit the operations of his grace to a partial cleansing of the soul from sin, even in this life: ‘Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect.’—Matt. v. 48. Yet this perfection still admits of a growth; and there remains always a possibility of sinning, where the mind does not diligently and watchfully attend to the Lord.” This doctrine, that gave such great umbrage to the presbyterians and other sects, upon the first preaching of the Quakers, is now generally admitted by the bishops and celebrated divines of the church of England.

Bishop Wilson, touching upon this subject in one of his excellent sermons, says, “For how can we hope to go to the place of just men made perfect, but by following their steps, by becoming in some measure perfect as they were? My meaning and the truth is this:—before we leave this world, as ever we hope to go to a better, ‘our nature must be changed:’ we must put on, as the apostle speaks, ‘the new man;’ that is, we must endeavour, by the grace of God, to be restored to that integrity in which man was at first created, and which was lost at the fall, by which fall we are become

weak, sinful creatures. Our business in the world is to be restored to this condition again, that we may be fit for the company of angels and the souls of just men made perfect."

SECTION IV.—OF WORSHIP.

In their public worship, as has been already noticed, they use no liturgy or form of prayer, and they admit of no preaching or prayer but what arises from the immediate inspiration of the Holy Spirit. Considering that the whole worship of God must be spiritual, and that all forms which divert the attention of the mind from this inward spiritual Teacher, are obstructions to that pure worship in "spirit and in truth," which our Saviour declared to be the only proper worship of a God who is himself a Spirit. Their sermons, therefore, are never previously conceived nor written down. Their service commences by sitting down in silence. In this silence they endeavour to compose their minds, to avoid all activity of the imagination, and to suppress any thing arising from their own wills, with humility submitting their own wills to the will of God. And if no one is moved to address the congregation, either by sermon or prayer, they separate, after having sat the usual time with one another in silence, (an event, however, which rarely took place in the early days of the Society) in which silence, if the mind has been properly engaged by striving after adoration of Almighty God, and resignation to his divine will, they consider the Deity to have been acceptably worshipped. "Wait on the Lord: be of good courage, and He shall strengthen thine heart, wait, I say, on the Lord."—Psalm xxvii. 14.

Although they consider, that no one day can be made, by human appointment, more holy or more proper for worship than another, and that their worship is not confined to time or place, yet they consider it incumbent on all Christians to assemble at stated periods for the public worship of God, and that one day out of the seven should be set apart as a day of holy rest, although, by the gospel dispensation, we are now freed from the penalties of the Jewish Sabbatical law. And

since the apostles set aside the first day of the week more particularly for this purpose, they cordially unite in the custom of all Christians in selecting this day, and consider that the faithful and religious observance of it is greatly conducive to the growth of moral and religious feelings. From the same occasion, also, that one day is not more holy than another, they never meet expressly upon saints-days, or other days of the feasts and fasts appointed by the English church, considering them as relics of popish superstitions and as inventions of designing men.

The necessity of the spirituality of all worship, to render it acceptable before God, is admitted by all Christians; it forms a prominent feature of the liturgy of the national church, which inculcates, that every good deed in us is effected by God's grace, and that, without this divine aid we can do nothing good. And because this Light or Grace is indwelling, and ever present in the mind, they maintain it to be the chief stay of him who cherishes it, and loves to abide in its pure teachings; following him even into the busiest scenes of his temporal concerns; enabling him by it to do all things to the glory of God; acting as a perpetual check upon his actions, and referring them to that golden rule of the gospel, "to do unto all men, as we would they should do unto us."

SECTION V.—OF THE MINISTRY.

They believe no learned education to be necessary, nor any outward ceremony to be efficient in qualifying for the office of the ministry; but that men are effectually called to its sacred duties by the Holy Spirit, and they consider, that the evidence of this call is sufficiently manifested in the effects it produces upon their outward lives; for they maintain, that no one can be properly called to be a preacher of repentance and good works, who is not in himself a faithful example of his own precepts. Also, that this "inward vocation" is extended to women as well as to men; for holy women in the apostles' days were both preachers and ministers of great esteem in the early church, as is testified by St. Paul.—See 1 Cor. ii. 12—16; iii. 19.

SECTION VI.—OF BAPTISM.

They fully unite in the assertion of the apostle Paul, that as “there is one Lord, and one faith,” so there is “one baptism;” which is “not the putting away the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience towards God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ.”—1 Peter iii. 20, 21. St. Paul also observes elsewhere, “By one spirit are we all baptized into one body.”—1 Cor. xii. 12. They believe, therefore, that this one baptism, which in its nature is saving or regenerating, is also of a pure and spiritual nature, and is the baptism of the Holy Ghost. And because this baptism is the only one so represented every where in Scripture, they believe that it cannot be given by any outward rite of water baptism; but, that it is a divine operation of the Holy Spirit in the heart, a result of faith and repentance, a fruit of watchfulness and prayer, the fiery ordeal through which the heart is sanctified. They further consider this essential baptism to be altogether distinct from, and independent of both the water baptism of John the Baptist, which was an expressly divine mission to the Jews; and also, of the water baptism enjoined by our Saviour to the apostles upon the conversion of Jews and heathens, as an open and public avowal of their faith and proselytism; a ceremony, they consider only as a symbol or type of that inward purification of the mind, effected by faith and repentance.

That the ceremony of water baptism is in itself regeneration, as it is admitted to be by many Christians, they fully disbelieve. For, how was it that St. Paul, who converted more by his preaching than any of the other apostles, omitted so very essential a ceremony? He declares, “that there were only three or four families that he had baptized, and that he thanked God that he had baptized so few, lest any should say that he baptized in his own name.”—“For,” says he, “Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel:” 1 Cor. i. 17; and “not with enticing words of man’s wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power.”—1 Cor. ii. 4. “The Quakers,” says Gurney, “believe that when it

is so preached, it is made the blessed means of truly baptizing the people into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." "Therefore," he says, "let no man pretend to say that we deny baptism. I believe there is no society in the world, that more deeply feels its importance; but what is the baptism? Let us hear what it is in words of the highest authority, the words of the Baptist himself, 'I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance, but He that cometh after me is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear; he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire.'—Matt. iii. 11."* And this is the one saving baptism, which alone they admit of as necessary for a people openly professing Christianity as their birth-right.

The ordinance of baptism enjoined in the book of "Common Prayer," is considered so objectionable by many serious and reflecting members of the church, that no consideration would induce them to take upon themselves the responsible office of sponsor; while, on the other hand, a great many others, who reflect but little upon these matters, view it only in the light of a mere form, through which a child becomes an acknowledged member of the established church. Wickliffe, one of the earliest of the protestant reformers, held, "that wise men leave that as impertinent, which is not plainly expressed in Scripture—that those are foolish and presumptuous, who affirm that infants are not saved if they die without baptism; and that baptism doth not confer grace, but only signifies grace which was given before." He also asserted, "that the baptism of water profiteth not without the baptism of the Spirit."

The only portion of Scripture adduced by the church ritual in support of the ordinance of infant baptism, has no application to the subject. Our Saviour therein rebukes his disciples for not allowing the little children to come near Him to touch Him, (it being one of the most natural impulses of a child to touch whatever excites in it a pleasing curiosity.) He, therefore, takes this opportunity to remind

* See "Gurney's Lectures on the Evidences of Christianity," pp. 195—9.

his hearers, that unless they become innocent and confiding as little children, they cannot participate in the blessings of the kingdom of God, which He tells them is made up of such like innocence. And having finished his exhortation to them, He blesses the children and puts them down, with no allusion whatever to any kind of baptism, see Mark x. 13. That this passage should ever have been brought forward by a learned body of men, as the only Scriptural support (for authority it is none) of infantile baptism, is rather astonishing, and affords a presumptive evidence of the human invention, and superstitious pretension of this ordinance. It shows how very cautiously we ought to receive any ordinance handed down to us through the apostate and superstitious church of Rome, without carefully testing the same by the Scripture of truth, and by sound and right reason; and more especially, when they involve fundamental and catholic doctrines: for popish councils and popish traditions have done more to retard the progress of gospel truth than all the writings of infidelity put together.

SECTION VII.—THE LORD'S SUPPER.

That particular injunction of our Lord to his disciples upon the memorable occasion of his eating the last paschal supper with them, as recorded by St. Luke, and confirmed by St. Paul in his first epistle to the Corinthians, the Quakers view in a very different light to the generality of their Christian brethren, and do not allow it to be an outward religious ordinance, a holy sacrament, a saving rite, by which all the partakers are consequently admitted into a spiritual communion with Christ and God, (an act of divine grace, which nothing short of true faith unto repentance can obtain for us.) The Scripture account of this matter, in their opinion, fully supports their conclusion, because it nowhere shows it to have been acceptable by the early Christians as a religious ordinance; but only as a solemn commemoration of our Lord's body having been broken and his blood spilt and offered up in atonement for our sins, and in purchase of our redemption.

If any such religious ceremony had been ordained by our Saviour as a solemn ordinance, binding upon all believers, is it unreasonable to suppose, that He would not have left such minute and clear instructions for its observance, as to have precluded a possibility of that diversity of sentiment and practice, which now prevails among the different communities of Christians? neither would such an important and essential ceremony have been passed over in total silence by the other three evangelists, especially by St. John, who is so full and explicit upon all matters relating to doctrine.

The words, "Do this in remembrance of me," taking all the circumstances of the occasion into consideration, they do not consider as instituting a religious ceremony, "which was thenceforward to form an essential part of worship, obligatory, in all ages, on the believers of Jesus." And as this command was addressed only to twelve persons, they consider "it was of a nature simply *positive*." Nevertheless, they do not reject the spiritual doctrine of the Lord's Supper, as they are erroneously supposed to do by many. "But," says Gurney, "while Friends consider it to be their duty to abstain from that ritual participation in bread and wine, so usually observed among their fellow-Christians. there are no person who insist more strongly than they do, on that which they deem to be the only needful *supper of the Lord*. That supper, according to their apprehension, is altogether of a spiritual nature."*

The limits of a short Summary will not admit of the arguments upon which their peculiar views on this point are founded, which can only be properly appreciated by reading them in full, as stated by their own approved writers. Gurney recapitulates his own sentiments in these words: "That the observance of the Lord's Supper has no proper or necessary connexion with a spiritual feeding on the body and blood of Christ; that the history of our Lord's last paschal supper with his disciples affords no reason for believing

* Gurney's "Observations, &c.," p. 174 8th edition, 1842.

that He then instituted a religious ceremony, which was thenceforth to form an essential part of the worship of Christians; that our Lord's injunction, on that occasion, may be understood, either as relating solely to the rites of the Passover, or as intended to give a religious direction to the more common social repasts of his disciples; that it was in connexion with such repasts, and particularly with their love-feasts, that the primitive Christians were accustomed to commemorate the death of Christ; that the custom of those love-feasts, however appropriate to the circumstances of the earliest disciples, soon fell into abuse as the number of believers increased, and appears to be, in a great degree, inapplicable to the present condition of the Christian world; and lastly, that under the influence of the spiritual manifestations of our Redeemer, we may without the bread and wine, participate in that *true* supper of the Lord, which He has himself so clearly upheld to the expectation of his disciples, and which alone is indispensable for the edification, consolation, and salvation of his people." Again, he says, "Man is naturally prone to trust in any thing, rather than in the invisible Creator, and he is ever ready to make the formal ordinance a part of his religious system, because he can rely upon it with ease to himself, and may often find in it a plausible substitute for the mortification of his own will. Now, I would suggest that the ordinances which we have have been considering, so far from being like the moral law of God, *universally* salutary, are evidently fraught with no little danger, as occasions by which this deceitful disposition in the human heart is naturally excited and brought into action. And here our appeals may be made, not only to theory, but to facts; for, it is indisputable that the outward rites of baptism and the supper, as observed among the professors of Christianity, have been the means of leading multitudes into gross superstition." "How often has the ignorant sinner, even in the hour of death, depended on the 'sacrament' of the Lord's supper as upon a saving ordinance! And how many a learned theologian, both ancient and modern, has been found to in-

sist on the dangerous tenet, that the rite of baptism, is *regeneration!*"*

In conclusion, we see, that the Quakers believe, that the observance of this outward ceremony, cannot of itself give that spiritual participation in the body and blood of Christ, which is the gift only of the grace of God; and farther, that neither the form used by the apostles, nor the ceremony as it now stands, was ever enforced as a religious rite either by our Saviour or the apostles, but, as it was used by the latter, was only used as a memorial of his death and sufferings for them and for all mankind.

The church ritual admits, that the "outward and visible sign" is of no avail without the "inward and spiritual grace," and therefore it follows, that it is the spiritual baptism, by which alone we become true members of the one church of Christ; and, that it is the spiritual participation in the Lord's supper, by which alone we can know Christ to be our Redeemer. And as I have before stated in the body of the work, the Quakers fully admit the spiritual and inward grace, but reject the outward and visible sign.

* Gurney's "Observations," &c., pp. 177—179, 8th edition, 1842.

PART II.—TENETS.

SECTION I.—ON RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

The Quakers maintain, “that the civil magistrate has no right to interfere in religious matters, so as either to force any particular doctrine upon men, or to hinder them from worshipping God in their own way, provided that, by their creeds and worships, they do no detriment to others. They believe, however, that Christian churches may admonish such members as fall into error, and may even cut them off from membership; but this must be done, not by the temporal, but by the spiritual sword.” And as religion is an affair solely between God and man, “so it cannot be within the province of individual magistrates, or of governments, consisting of fallible men, to fetter the consciences of those who may live under them.” *

SECTION II.—ON OATHS.

They consider a Christian to be expressly forbidden to take an oath upon any occasion, and that profane swearing is altogether incompatible with a Christian life. This tenet is grounded upon that comprehensive and expressive command of our Lord, in his sermon from the mount, Matt. v. 33—37, and confirmed by the apostle James v. 12; to both of which I have so often referred in the course of this Memoir, especially in chapter seven, where it has been stated, that they look upon this command to be as fully binding upon all Christians as any other precept of our Saviour. In which opinion they are far from being singular, being confirmed, as Gurney says, “By the express judgment of the

* Clarkson's "Portraiture of Quakerism," vol. iii. pp. 6-8.

early fathers, both Greek and Latin, who have almost uniformly interpreted these passages as destitute of any limitation. 'I say nothing of perjury,' says Tertullian, 'since swearing itself is unlawful to Christians.' 'The old law,' says Basil, 'is satisfied with the honest keeping of the oath; but Christ cuts off the opportunity of perjury.' 'He who has precluded murder by taking away anger,' observes Gregory of Nyse, 'and who has driven away the pollution of adultery by subduing desire, has expelled from our life the curse of perjury by forbidding to swear; for, where there is no oath, there can be no infringement of it.' 'Let the Christian entirely avoid oaths, in obedience to our Lord's prohibition,' exclaims Chrysostom; 'do not, therefore, say to me, I swear for a just purpose. It is no longer lawful for thee to swear either justly or unjustly. Let us preserve our mouths free from an oath.' 'It is our absolute duty,' says Gregory of Nazianzen, 'strictly to attend to the commands of our king, and by all means to avoid an oath, especially such a one *as is taken in the name of God.*' " *

Many of our readers are, very likely, not aware that the 39th article of the established church is a direct contradiction to this command of our Saviour, "Swear not at all;" and that the only arguments adduced by the clergy in support of this *inconsistent article*, are founded in scholia or glosses, by which the plain and simple meaning of the text is perverted. And also, that our Saviour's ever-memorable sermon on the mount, as given in the fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters of St. Matthew, which in itself contains the vital principles and most essential precepts of Christianity, given in the shape of commands, as fully binding upon Christians as those of the Decalogue ever were upon the Jews, should have been omitted by the compilers of the liturgy, and should form no part whatever of the fixed service, either of the morning or evening prayer; and that, in the portions of the gospel appointed to be read with the collects upon particular days, it occurs only five times. The first, on Ash Wednes-

* Gurney on Oaths, page 337. Also, "Barclay's Apology," prop. xv. § 12

day, beginning at chap. vi. verse 16, and ending at verse 21. The second, on the sixth Sunday after Trinity, chap. v. verse 20 to 26, inclusive. The third, on the eighth Sunday after Trinity, chap. vii. verse 15 to 21. The fourth, on the fifteenth Sunday after Trinity, chap. vi. 24, to the end. Lastly, on All Saints' day, chap. v. 1 to 12, inclusive. Containing altogether little more than a third of the whole sermon, and omitting some of its most essential Christian rules, at the same time that we find the Decalogue, which was expressly addressed to Jews, forming a conspicuous part of the communion service, and the old law, which is based upon these commandments, we are told by St. Paul, is to be looked upon only as a schoolmaster to prepare us for the more spiritual dispensation of the gospel; the leading features of which we find embodied in this memorable sermon more than in any other passage in the gospel. By this remark, I wish to be clearly understood as in no way detracting from the high value of the ten commandments, or objecting to their introduction as a part of the regular service; but why should the express commands of Christ, which form an imperative rule for all Christians, be omitted?

In order to show that the consideration of reformatations and amendments of the liturgy are not novelties, I shall again have recourse to the authority of Bishop Burnet, who considered the church ritual as the most perfect composition or devotion extant in our church. "Yet," he says, "the corrections that were agreed to by a deputation of bishops and divines, in the year 1689, would make the whole frame of our liturgy still *more perfect*, as well as *more unexceptionable*, and will, I hope, at some time or other, be better entertained than they were then. I am persuaded they are such as would bring in the much greater part of the dissenters to the communion of the church, and are in themselves desirable, though there were not a dissenter in the nation." Upon the same subject, he elsewhere says, "No inconvenience could follow on leaving out the cross in baptism, or on laying aside of surplices, and regulating cathedrals, especially as to any indecent way of singing prayers, and of laymen's reading

the litany; all bowings to the altar have, at least, an ill appearance, and are of no use; the excluding parents from being sponsors in baptism, and requiring them to procure others, is extremely inconvenient, and makes that to be a mockery, rather than a solemn sponsion, in too many." Many of these are the very questions which are agitating the church at the present day.

SECTION III.—ON WAR.

Their next tenet is the unlawfulness of all warfare, and that no true Christian can, consistently with the profession of his faith in Christ, uphold an evil, against which the whole tenor of the gospel precepts so fully declare.

In that famous sermon on the mount already alluded to, we are told, "But whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also." Again, "I say unto you, love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you." St. James says, iv. 1, "From whence come wars and fightings amongst you? come they not hence, even of your lusts that war in your members?" The apostle Paul admonished Christians, "that they defend not themselves, neither avenge, by rendering evil for evil," &c. Our Saviour's last injunction to his disciples, John xiii. 34, is, "A new commandment I give unto you, That ye love one another; as I have loved you, that ye also love one another;" and in the same gospel, xiv. 23, he again says, "If a man love me, he will keep my words;" and, again, in the 24th verse, "He that loveth me not, keepeth not my sayings;" that is, he prefers the gratification rather than the subjugation of his lusts that war in his members.

The Quakers consider that if by these precepts we are forbidden to return evil for evil, much less can warfare be justified upon any Christian pretence. They consider also, that we ought to emulate the example of the early and pure church during the first three centuries, which faithfully upheld its testimony against this anti-christian practice: numberless

instances being upon record of converted pagans, who sealed this testimony with their blood, rather than comply with the laws which compelled them to bear arms; that, when the church became less pure, its scruples on this point relaxed; and when it became corrupt, they ceased altogether; till at last in the dark days of the Roman apostacy, Christianity was not only often made the pretext for warfare, but also for the shedding of innocent blood.

SECTION IV.—ON THE MAINTENANCE OF THE MINISTRY.

As I have already observed, the Quakers admit of no ministry but what has its origin in the divine vocation; so also, they deem it unlawful to allow of any pecuniary recompense as a maintenance for such as believe themselves so called to their important duties. And further, they believe it to be a duty, particularly enjoined upon them as a people, to bear a religious testimony against this unapostolic practice, by refusing voluntarily to contribute in any way to the support even of a ministry in any other church, in the shape either of tithes or other church-dues, of any description.

They adduce the following passages in authority for these conclusions:—First, our Lord thus instructed his disciples when He sent them forth to preach the gospel, saying, “Freely ye have received, freely give. Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass, in your purses, &c.; for the workman is worthy of his meat.”—Matt. x. 8—10. Again, when He sent forth the other seventy, He repeated these instructions, “Carry neither purse, nor scrip, nor shoes; and salute no man by the way. And into whatsoever house ye enter, first say, ‘Peace be to this house.’ And in the same house remain eating and drinking such things as they give: for the labourer is worthy of his hire.”—Luke x. 4—7. St. Paul says to the Corinthians, “What is my reward then? verily, that when I preach the gospel I make the gospel of Christ without charge, that I abuse not my power in the gospel.”—1 Cor. iv. 18. St. Peter also observes, “Feed the flock of God which is among you, taking the oversight thereof not by constraint,

but willingly, not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind.”—
1 Peter v. 2.

Besides the disallowance of any pecuniary recompense to their ministers, the office itself confers upon the individual no rank nor mark of pre-eminence above the other members, more than the influence which a virtuous character, uniting the practice with the precepts of holiness, must at all times possess over those among whom he lives. Thus the office holds out neither honorary nor interested motives as a worldly consideration. An evil which the temporalities of the established church have made one of its greatest banes, since its honours, dignities, and wealth, are so many allurements to entice the worldly-minded to enter its sacred offices solely for the sake of participating in its patronage and emoluments.

Gurney says upon this subject, “I believe it to be generally allowed among Christians, that none can be true ministers of the gospel who are not called to the exercise of that office by the Holy Ghost; and, consequently, that the faculty of ministry is still considered *a gift of the Spirit*. But though this doctrine is generally admitted, it is very far indeed from being consistently or universally carried into practice. Many rush into the sacred office, and enjoy the temporal privileges with which it is so usually connected, whose whole deportment evinces in the plainest manner, that they are destitute of qualification for any such undertaking.” “Others whose views are of a somewhat more serious complexion, and who are actuated by a general desire to perform their duty, are obviously depending in their ministry, not upon that Spirit who can alone qualify for the exercise of his own gifts, but upon human learning and merely intellectual exertion. Their discourses are so far from arising out of the intimations of a divine influence, that they are the mere produce of their own reflections, and their own industry. Such discourses may be the word of the preacher, but they cannot with any degree of strictness or propriety, be described as the words of the Lord. Happily, there is still another class of ministers among various denominations of Christians, whose views on the present subject are of a much more spi-

ritual character, who exercise its important functions, not only with zeal and fidelity, but with a real feeling of dependence upon the divine Spirit."

"The Society of Friends conceive it to be a duty plainly laid upon them, to hold up a still higher and purer standard respecting the Christian ministry. They admit that the faculty of the Christian ministry is the gift of the Spirit, which cannot be rightly exercised otherwise than under the direct and immediate influence of that Spirit. Friends are not, therefore, satisfied with any general impression that it is their duty to preach the gospel; nor do they venture, under such impression, either to employ their own intellectual exertions, as a preparation for the service, or to select their own time for performing it. If it be the divine will that they should minister, they believe it will be manifested to them by the divine Spirit, where they are to speak, whom they are to address, and what things they are to express. In the exercise of so high and sacred a function, they dare not depend, either in a greater or a less degree, upon their own strength or wisdom; but they feel constrained to place their sole reliance upon Him who 'searcheth the reins and the heart;' upon him who 'hath the key of David,' who 'openeth, and no man shutteth, and shutteth, and no man openeth.'"*

Bishop Burnet speaking of this inward vocation, says, "No man ought to think of this profession, unless he feels within himself a love to religion, with a zeal for it, and an internal true piety; which is chiefly kept by secret prayer, and by reading of the scriptures. As long as these things are burdensome to the mind, they are infallible indications that he has no inward vocation, or notion of the Holy Ghost to undertake it. The capital error in men's preparing themselves for that function is, that they study books more than themselves, and that they read divinity more in other books than in the scriptures." Again, he says, "Ask yourselves often, would you follow that course of life, if there were no settled establishment belonging to it, and if you were to preach under

* Gurney's "Distinguishing Features," &c., chap. v.

the cross, and in danger of persecution? For till you arrive at that, you are yet carnal, and come into the priesthood for a piece of bread. Above all things, raise within yourselves a zeal for doing good, and for gaining souls; indeed, I have lamented during my whole life, that I saw so little true zeal among our clergy."

It is not only upon the principle of non-maintenance that the Quakers object to the payment of tithes, but they deny also the assumed divine right of any Christian church to them. They consider that modern tithes originated in the covetousness of the Romish church during the dark ages, and that the notion of a divine right to them was never entertained in this country, before an act to that effect was passed by Henry VIII., which is the only claim the church can produce for this assumed right. This right they deny upon the following grounds:—First, because the only tithe mentioned in scripture formed a part of the Levitical law, of which law Christ was the end; and who in sending forth his disciples to preach the glad tidings of the gospel, commanded them to do it freely and without pay. Secondly, because the Levites being one of the twelve tribes, and consequently entitled to their share in the division of the land, were allotted by God, in lieu thereof, the tithes of the whole land. A tenth part only of these tithes were allowed to the officiating priests, the remainder was for the maintenance of the tribe itself, out of which alone could be chosen this order of priesthood. And as no parity can be drawn between the order of priests ordained under the Mosaic Law, and that of the present order of preachers, who can be chosen from all ranks and all nations: so they consider that this modern claim to a divine right, originating in an encroachment of papal power, can in no wise be justified, either by scripture or right reason. Their objections upon this point, therefore, amount to a religious principle.

It is curious that this assumption of the church to a divine right to tithe, which at times has caused so much religious animosity, and which originated in an act of parliament, during the changing times of Henry VIII., should have been

finally settled by another recent act, that in a few years will abolish tithes altogether; substituting in their stead a rent-charge, and changing the alleged divine right into a legal maintenance for a national church.

The foregoing tenets, Clarkson considers as the four grand tenets and distinguishing features of the Society. Oaths and warfare, they consider opposed to the very spirit of Christianity; and however the prejudices of education and habit may incline us to think otherwise, yet, if we were, abstractedly from all established notions upon these points, rationally to consider those passages in the gospel, together with the corroborating testimonies of the apostles, which bear upon them; we can scarcely do otherwise than acknowledge that the Quakers have arrived at just conclusions thereon. In the exercise of their duties as ministers, they nobly choose to follow the express injunctions of our Lord to his disciples, when He sent them forth to preach without pay; in which practice they feel themselves supported by the example of the apostles, who gloried that they made the gospel of no charge to those who received it, that they preached its doctrine without gain, and that they maintained themselves by the labour of their own hands. In this respect, holding up to us a pattern of a ministry, altogether purer and more apostolic than is to be found in any other Christian church. For as the ministers of other communities do not even profess an equal reliance upon the divine teachings of the Spirit, but trust also to the aids of school wisdom and polite learning, (which, St. Paul tells us, "is foolishness with God,"—1 Cor. iii. 19;) so also they even stoop to make a gain or livelihood of their spiritual labours, and cannot, therefore, be regarded in the noble light of the disinterested apostolic preachers of the early church, but merely in the secondary light of paid instructors.

They farther consider the mind of man to be endowed with a spiritual as well as an intellectual faculty, and that religious growth and experience is a spiritual acquirement, in no ways dependent upon mental or intellectual abilities; a fact which, it is deeply to be regretted, has been proved by in-

stances of profound erudition, and brilliant talent, having been united with the grossest infidelity.

When the period shall arrive that the "stone that was cut out without hands" shall have become "a great mountain," and shall have "filled the whole earth;" and when all the nations of it shall call upon the holy name of Jesus, and shall become not only Christians in profession, but also in the practice of all its pure and peaceable precepts, then such essential tenets as the above will be fully appreciated, and the whole human family will become Quakers upon these characteristic features of the one religion of Christ. Then shall be experienced individual subjugation of the passions, and universal benevolence to man; then shall "they beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks."—Isaiah xliv; then shall "the wolf dwell with the lamb, and the leopard lie down with the kid; and the calf, and the young lion, and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them."—Isa. xi. 6.

PART III.

PECULIARITIES, OR SECTARIAN DISTINCTIONS.

The Quakers have many peculiarities that distinguish them, both in appearance and manner, from all other people. The most conspicuous of which, are their dress and address; in the former, following a model peculiar to themselves, both as to the cut and colour of their garments, carefully avoiding the use of all superfluities, ornaments, and gay colours. This singularity of appearance, they adopt upon the principle, that it is both unbecoming and inconsistent for an humble and serious people to indulge themselves in any kind of vain and frivolous personal adornments, their spiritual welfare being an object of too important, and too absorbing a nature, to allow their minds to be engrossed by such minor considerations, especially when they have a tendency to excite the earthly feelings of pride and vain-glory. In confirmation of these sentiments, we are again referred to our Saviour's incomparable sermon, where we are beautifully cautioned against a too absorbing anxiety about the things of this life: "Therefore, I say unto you, Take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink; nor yet for the body, what ye shall put on. Is not the life more than meat, and the body than raiment?"—"But seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you."—Matt. vi. 24, to the end. The striking personal feature, which originated in the plain attire of the sober-minded and religious people, who mostly composed the first converts of their founder, George Fox, and who, by their example, testified against the frivolity and extravagance of the prevailing fashions of that period, has now degenerated into a peculiar fashion of their own, in some instances, assuming a fantastic singularity, offering to the casual beholder, an eccentricity as striking as many of the strange in-

ventions of ever-changing fashion. Yet the Society strongly recommends to all its members a conformity to these outward marks, conceiving that they act as guards and preservatives against the volatility of youth, who, from not being so conspicuously habited, might fall into some flagrant breach of their principles.

To some extent this consideration may be true, but as the bulk of modern Quakers do not confine themselves to the primitive simplicity and plainness of their early predecessors in many particulars, a query naturally arises, whether, with some individuals, too great a stress has not been laid upon this outward mark, at the expense of one of much greater importance, the careful and early instillation of their moral and religious principles? For the outward mark alone, without an accompanying inward conviction, cannot make the true Quaker.

The second striking peculiarity, their abstaining in speech from all flattering titles and compliments, from personal gestures, and from taking off the hat, as well as their use of the singular pronoun, when addressing one person; all of which arise from a desire of conforming to the simplicity of the apostolic times. The singular pronoun, they consider to have been in universal use throughout the world, anterior to the decline of the Roman empire, when the base flattery and idolatrous homage paid to the assumed divinity of the emperors, first introduced this custom of addressing an individual in the plural number. It afterwards became the complimentary style of address to all superiors, and at the time of George Fox was so used, and was by no means in the general use in which we find it at the present day; being now employed on all occasions, and by all ranks, without any reference whatever to compliment: common usage has also so far established this form of speech, that some of our modern grammars now teach, "thou or you," as the second person singular, and with all classes, except the Quakers, it has almost entirely superseded the harsh and uneuphonious sound of the old-fashioned form, which is now only employed in the emphatic language of poetry, or in addressing the Deity.

This harmless innovation upon the accustomed mode of address, made by George Fox, was regarded at the time as clownish and insulting, and gave great umbrage to the proud and self-important. And the little pronoun thou, imbittered the minds of many, who conceived themselves entitled to a respectful, if not a submissive, address from all, and much more from those whom they looked upon as their inferiors. And so great was their resentment on account of this little matter, that no punishment was considered sufficiently severe or vile to be inflicted upon this new sect, so strange in their conduct, compared with the rest of mankind.

For a similar reason of adherence to truth and simplicity, they call the names of the days and months after their numerical order, and never by the usual names, on account of their heathen signification and reference.

In their system of moral education, all games of chance, music, dancing, and field sports, are prohibited, not abstractedly in themselves, (for they do not consider any evil to exist simply in the cards, music, or dancing;) but in the consequences resulting from the constant practice and absorbing nature of these pursuits. 1st, As the time consumed in the attainment of a moderate proficiency in them, intrudes greatly upon that period best adapted to useful and intellectual acquirements. 2d, As being occupations below the dignity of intelligent, rational, and immortal beings. 3d, As they tend to excite the evil propensities of our nature. 4th, As they often lead their votaries into improper connexions, and thus may imperceptibly impair the moral standard of the character, by unfitting the mind for the regular performance of its Christian duties.

Novels and the theatre are absolutely forbidden by them, on the ground of the very pernicious tendency of these amusements in themselves; also, as being diversions which totally unsettle the mind for ordinary pursuits, by instilling into it a distaste for the useful employments of real life, and by contributing to excite in it the natural feelings of morbid sensibility.

These are the leading peculiarities of this people, which

distinguish them so conspicuously from the rest of the world, and which, upon examination, resolve themselves into one main principle—self-denial—a principle, in itself the basis of Christian morality, and without which all our public religious observances, our family devotions, our readings of the Scriptures, will avail us nothing. For the fruits of these ought to be self-denial, charity, and the subjugation of the passions, and where such a corrective discipline is wanting, it is to be feared that religion is only mocked by a form, or debased by hypocrisy. And although the early Quakers carried out this principle farther than most others, and in this respect stood forth a bright example; still, independently of their particular system of prohibitory amusements, let us remember, that all are called upon to exercise this great test of the sincerity of their professions; since all have their besetting sins, and their trials of temper best known to themselves, and which it becomes an imperious duty in them, as Christians, to strive, through God's assistance, to overcome.

PART IV.¹

ON DISCIPLINE, OR CHURCH GOVERNMENT.

For the salutary purpose of maintaining good order and Christian love among all their members, they have established Monthly, Quarterly, and Yearly Meetings, for transacting the affairs of the Society. A Monthly Meeting is usually composed of several particular congregations, situated within a convenient distance of each other, and is under the care of Overseers and Elders, chosen on account of their exemplary characters, and whose duty is to watch over all individuals of their respective meetings, to see that the discipline of the Society is properly enforced, and to admonish (first privately) such as may have either failed in consistency of conduct, or in some breach of their principles. The business of this Monthly Meeting is to provide for the subsistence of the poor, and for the education of their offspring; to approve of persons desiring to be admitted into membership, to deal with disorderly members, and if irreclaimable, to disown them. Their whole system of government being founded upon these precepts of our Saviour: "If thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between him and thee alone. If he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother. But if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more, that, in the mouth of two or three witnesses, every word may be established. And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the church; but if he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man or publican."—Matt. xviii. 15—17.

All marriages are proposed to their Monthly Meetings, for their concurrence; but they are solemnized in a public meeting for worship, held upon some day during the week, not a Sunday, and the Monthly Meeting keeps a record of them, and also of the births and burials of its own members.

The Society does not allow its members to sue one another at law, but enjoins them to settle their differences by a speedy and impartial arbitration; and if any refuse to submit to this rule, they forfeit their membership. Several Monthly Meetings united, constitute a Quarterly Meeting, to which each Monthly Meeting separately appoints representatives, and to which appeals lie from the decisions of any Monthly Meeting.

The Yearly Meeting has a general superintendence over the whole Society in the nation in which it is established; and as particular exigencies arise, makes such regulations as appear to be requisite, and appeals from Quarterly Meetings are here finally determined. It is also in correspondence with the Yearly Meetings of other countries, over which, however, it has no control.

The females of this Society, also, have their particular meetings, held at the same time and place with those of the men, but in separate rooms. These are for the regulation of matters belonging more properly to themselves. Besides the above-mentioned, the Society has other different and select meetings of their Ministers and Elders, which relate chiefly to the spiritual concerns of the Society; such as the publication of their doctrines. To the Meeting of Sufferings is confided the care of watching over the forthcoming acts of the legislature, that no law may be passed affecting any of their scruples, without either an amendment or a reserving clause in their favour.

CONCLUDING REMARKS. The Quakers have been in existence, as a religious body of dissenters, for about two centuries, and have, undoubtedly, established a character with the world at large, of a conscientious and moral people. And if numbers of the modern members fall short of the primitive simplicity of their early predecessors, and content themselves with the reputation attached to the memory of their good name, at any rate they ought to be cautious, lest their own acts tend to bring this justly earned reputation of

the Society into disrepute; and more especially ought they to avoid mixing themselves up with the party feelings of the day, a practice opposed to their conduct in early times. And as the principle upon which they refuse the payment of tithes, and other ecclesiastical demands, is of a nature so different, and originates in a motive so much purer than the paltry consideration of pecuniary loss, they should cautiously consider, whether, in combining with other dissenters upon political questions, they are not lowering the standard of their own character.

In their early days, the Society partook of the controversial spirit of the times, and scrupled not to depreciate the outward observances of other churches opposed to them in opinion. George Fox, and many zealous preachers cotemporary with him, were actuated by a deep sense of duty, feeling that they were not only called upon to preach the gospel in its purity, but also to expose the fallacy of the notions upon which many such outward observances were grounded: hence arose the rapid spread of their opinions, and the constant accession of numerous proselytes. "How shall they hear without a preacher? And how shall they preach, except they be sent? as it is written, How beautiful are the feet of them that preach the gospel of peace, and bring glad tidings of good things!"—Rom x. 15.

At the present time, they seem to be influenced by a different feeling, and in their intercourse with other religious bodies, never attempt to depreciate the ceremonies adopted by them, but simply call the attention of all to the necessity of something beyond the outward forms, to a living, spiritual, and inward religion; and they no longer censure those who sincerely believe it right to conform to the established ordinances of their own particular churches, provided they do not force them upon others, reminding them, that it is the inward and spiritual grace alone of such observances that constitute the real essential part of them; for the doctrine of the gospel depends upon no outward form, and that the form alone, without the accompanying inward grace, will only prove a broken staff, a sandy foundation.

Upon two striking points, they also differ from most other people: in the first, in admitting of no system of policy whatever, not founded upon Christian principles; rejecting entirely all reasonings resulting from expediency, and all considerations arising from presumed consequences, when opposed to Christianity. In the second, they differ from the preachers of all other churches, who, in preaching the gospel, rarely omit to enlarge upon the superiority of their own church, and the pre-eminence of its external ordinances over all others; whereas, the Quakers, deeming no outward ordinance to be essential, confine themselves to the spiritual doctrine of the gospel, and to the one church of Christ, of which they believe all sincere Christians to be living members; never seeking, like their early preachers, to make proselytes to their own peculiar tenets; but willingly admitting into their community all such, as upon full and sincere conviction, deem it right to conform to them.

I shall conclude this short and imperfect sketch with a quotation from the opening remarks in Clarkson's Portraiture of this people: "Quakerism," he says, "may be defined to be an attempt under the divine influence at practical Christianity, as far as it can be carried. Those who profess it, consider themselves bound to regulate their opinions, words, actions, and even outward demeanour, by Christianity, and by Christianity alone.

"They consider themselves bound to give up such of the customs or fashions of men, however general, or generally approved, as militate, in any manner, against the letter or the spirit of the gospel. Hence they mix but little with the world, that they may be less liable to imbibe its spirit. Hence George Fox made a distinction between the members of his own Society and others, by the different appellations of Friends, and People of the World.

"They consider themselves under an obligation to follow virtue, not ordinarily, but even unto death. For they profess never to make a sacrifice of conscience; and, therefore, if any of the ordinances of men are enjoined them, which they think to be contrary to the divine will, they believe it

right not to submit to them, but rather, after the examples of the apostles and primitive Christians, to suffer any loss, penalty, or inconvenience, which may result to them for so doing.

“This then, in a few words, is a general definition of Quakerism. It is, as we see, a most strict profession of practical virtue, under the direction of Christianity, and as such when we consider the infirmities of human nature, and the temptations that daily surround it, it must be exceedingly difficult to fulfil. But whatever difficulties may have lain in the way, or however, on account of the necessary weakness of human nature, the best individuals among the Quakers may have fallen below the pattern of excellence which they have copied, nothing is more true, than that the result has been, that the whole Society, as a body, have obtained from their countrymen the character of a moral people.”

NOTE ON WATER-BAPTISM.

In further elucidation of this subject, I give the following brief outline of a pamphlet, entitled, “On Water Baptism, by a Churchman:”*

It begins by stating that Scripture points out four distinct water baptisms. The first was the baptism for proselytes, in use among the Jews upon conversion of the pagans; the converts to which were baptized in the name of Moses. The second, was the particular mission of John the Baptist to the Jews, and was a baptism of repentance for the remission of sins—the remission of sins depending upon *repentance*, not upon *baptism*, which was only a contingent to repentance. This baptism was in the name of the “Messiah who was to come.” The third, was that of our Lord’s disciples,—“Jesus himself baptized not, but his disciples,”—and was no doubt in the name of Jesus. The fourth, took place after our Lord’s resurrection, in consequence of the particular injunction to his disciples, recorded in Matt. xxviii. 19, 20, and in Mark xvi. 16, which may be considered as the great commission for this ceremony, and wherein our Saviour himself fixed upon the terms, “the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit,” as including the whole

* By Thomas Clarkson, A. M.

Godhead. "Go ye, therefore, and teach* (proselytize) all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

In this passage, he remarks, "that 'teach or proselytize,' is the only verb in the sentence, and therefore must determine the object. Baptizing is only a participle, and the clause therefore in which it is found, must be an inferior or dependent one, having, however, some incidental or necessary connexion with the verb." By this injunction, therefore, baptism was to be administered to all proselytes.

From this historical sketch of the ceremony, he endeavours to show, that water baptism was a Jewish rite, instituted upon the proselytizing of the heathen, long before the appearance of Christianity, and afterwards formed a special mission of the Baptist from God to the Jews. That this outward ceremony was regarded in the early days of Christianity, only as an open avowal of a new faith, and change of religion, by which the members of the visible Christian church were distinguished from the world, and were admitted into outward communion with it. That this ceremony was never considered by the apostles and primitive Christians in the light of a religious ordinance conferring regeneration of itself; but only as a type of such new birth and change of heart, which the Holy Spirit could alone effect; and that the only baptism which could confer this saving grace, was that spiritual baptism foretold by the Baptist of Him who was to come after him, and to which our Saviour and the apostles so often particularly called the attention of their hearers. That it is evident from their own words, that the great object of the apostles was to proselytize by preaching, and that baptism, although a necessary ceremony, was only a contingent upon a public confession of faith in Christ. It was considered by them inferior to preaching, for, by the continued preaching of the word, the heathen were prepared to receive and profit by it. That this outward ceremony, in all instances recorded in Scripture, was only administered to adults after conversion or proselytism to the new religion, and, therefore, was only an appendage upon the faith and repentance which had preceded it; and in no one instance is it ever mentioned as having been administered to children born of Christian parents. And in thus making *faith* and *repentance* antecedents to an admission to water baptism, infants are necessarily excluded. At the same time it must be remembered, that although the Scriptures contain no command for infant baptism, they contain no injunction against it, and therefore all those who think it right, are at liberty to use it.

He then goes on, "I proceed now to what I consider to be the most important part of the subject. There are some, and not a few, who no

* "Proselytize" is considered by Dr. Campbell and other biblical critics as the most appropriate word to render this passage.

doubt conscientiously think that water baptism, (which we have hitherto considered as little more than a sacred rite for the admission of members into the church of Christ,) has such inherent virtues, that it contains within itself actual *regeneration* or *salvation*. It is this notion or doctrine, promulgated as it has been of late, that has brought me forward, or I should have been silent. Any notion which substitutes a *ceremony* for *faith* and *repentance* through the blood of Christ—the two grand sources of salvation, and to which all minor are reducible—ought to be resisted.”

He then examines the grammatical construction of those passages in the New Testament, which are usually brought forward in support of this opinion. In the first place, Mark xvi. 16, “He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned,” or “condemned.” In this passage, *believe* is the principal verb, and the salvation evidently depends upon the *faith*, not upon the *baptism*, which construction is fully borne out by the concluding clause of the sentence, where condemnation is passed on the unbeliever only, the sentence abruptly breaking off expressly at this point. Secondly, Acts ii. 38, “Then Peter said unto them, Repent and be baptized, every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins.” In this passage, the same mistake is made as in the former case, for the “remission of sins” is here erroneously ascribed to the effect of baptism instead of repentance; forgetting that the word “repent” stands at the head of the verse, and is the principal verb in the sentence, and consequently determines the object. In chap. iii. 19, the same apostle says, “Repent ye therefore and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out.” In this instance, making salvation dependent upon repentance and conversion. Again, in his first general epistle, iii. 21, he positively denies, in so many words, that baptism has any thing to do with salvation. “Not the *putting away of the filth of the flesh*, but the answer of a good conscience towards God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ.” Thirdly, Acts xxii. 16, “And now,” says Ananias to Saul, “why tarriest thou? Arise, and be baptized, and wash away thy sins,” (by) “*calling on the name of the Lord*,” (Jesus.) Here again, the washing away of sin is erroneously placed to the account of *baptism*, instead of “*calling upon the name of the Lord*.” St. Paul says, “Who-soever shall call upon the name of the Lord, *shall be saved*,”—Rom. x. 13, because so doing, “in those days amounted to a public declaration of faith or belief in Him.” Two conclusions are drawn from these views. 1st, That water baptism as it was practised in the time of the apostles, was only a rite by which converts were admitted into outward communion with the Christian church. 2d, That in those early days it was always considered as distinct from the spiritual baptism of the Holy Ghost, and was never regarded as a rite, productive in itself either of regeneration or salvation. It was left for the Nicene church of the

fourth century to add this dangerous doctrine to its many other dangerous superstitions. Neither can this strange doctrine, which *supersedes faith and repentance through the blood of Christ*, as necessary to salvation, be collected from any of the writings which the apostles have left behind them, as we have attempted to show by examining the texts which are usually brought in support of it."  Here the pamphlet ends.

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